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A

HISTORY

OF THE

RISE AND PROGRESS

OF THE PEOPLE CALLED

QUAKERS,

IN IRELAND,

FROM THE YEAR 1653 to 1700.

COMPILED AT THE REQUEST OF THEIR NATIONAL MEETING,

By THOMAS WIGHT, of Cork.

AFTERWARDS

REVISED, ENLARGED, and CONTINUED to the YEAR 1751,

By JOHN RUTTY.

FOURTH EDITION.

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THE

INTRODUCTION,

IN

TWO PARTS.

PART I.

Of the Faith of the primitive Chriſtians, and the Apoſtacy from it, traced in ſome of its ſucceſſive ſteps, until that part of the world called Chriſtendom was almoſt totally overſpread with a midnight of darkneſs and ſuperſtition.

WHEN I conſider the efficacy of faith as recorded in the Holy Scriptures, whether among the elders who had not yet received the promiſes, but ſeen them afar off as deſcribed in the eleventh of the Hebrews; or among thoſe who believed in Chriſt actually come in the fleſh, as recorded in the New Teſtament, in the following (among many other) places, John i. 12. "To as many as received him gave he power to become the ſons of God, even to them that believe on his name." Mark ix. 23. "All things are poſſible to him that believeth." Acts xv. 9. and xxvi. 18. "The hearts of both Jews and Gentiles were purified by faith;" and 1 John v. 4. "This is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith." James ii. 18. "I will ſhew thee my faith by my works." Eph. vi. 16. "The ſhield of faith, wherewith they were able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked:——I ſay when I conſider this Scripture account of faith, I ſee clearly that it was a lively operative one, and ſuch as profeſſed Chriſtians of ungodly lives have no claim to; for a dead faith may be reckoned either no faith at all, or (in ſome reſpect) to fall ſhort of that of devils mentioned by the above-cited apoſtle James, of whom he ſays, that they not only believe but tremble, a diſpoſition which many profeſſing faith in Chriſt, are ſtrangers to.

Now in my ſmall reading I find alſo the accounts given of the early Chriſtians, not only during the lives of the apoſtles, but for ſome time afterwards, to be ſuch as imply that their faith alſo was of the ſame lively operative kind as that above deſcribed from the New Teſtament, and ſuperior in efficacy to the dictates of mere reaſon.

‘ There appears,’ ſays Stillingfleet, l. 2. c. 9. of his *Origines ſacræ*, ‘ to have been a divine efficacy in the firſt preaching of the goſpel, far beyond that of the mere dictates of philoſophy, which was not ſuited to all capacities, but to the few only, and even where it was ſuited to the capacities of men, did indeed render them more knowing, but rarely more good; whereas the goſpel did not only change men’s opinions and way of worſhip, but ſhewed its ſuperior power, in turning them from their luſts, ſenſualities, and habitual ſins.’

‘ We do indeed,’ continues he, ‘ read of one Phædon and one Polemon brought off from their debaucheries by Socrates and Xenocrates; but what are theſe to the multitudes which by the mean and contemptible language of the apoſtles were converted from intemperance to ſobriety, from injuſtice to fair dealing: from cowardice to the higheſt conſtancy; yea ſo great as to lay down their lives for the ſake of virtue? and this is what Origen, in his books againſt Celſus, triumphs in, as the moſt ſignal evidence of a divine power in the doctrine of Chriſt.’

Agreeably to this, I find that, ‘ the Primitive Chriſtians placed their religion, not in talking finely, but in living well, nor did they eſteem any Chriſtians that merely profeſſed, but ſuch as lived as Chriſt commanded; and Tertullian openly declares that when men depart from the diſcipline of the goſpel, they ſo far ceaſe amongſt us to be accounted Chriſtians.'*

But alas, how was the face of things changed, in proceſs of time, and that faith which was once delivered to the ſaints caſt off in the ſenſe of the apoſtle, 1 Tim. v. 12? In ſhort, an apoſtacy from the primitive purity and ſimplicity did creep in, and from ſmall beginnings prevail at length ſo far as to render many parts of the Chriſtian world as corrupt, and in ſome caſes more ſo than the heathen.

Of ſuch an apoſtacy befalling the Chriſtian churches it hath ſeemed fit to the divine wiſdom to forewarn us in the Revelation of John the divine, and ſeveral other places of the New Teſtament, of which it ſhall ſuffice at preſent to mention but two, viz. 1 John iv. "Many falſe prophets are gone out into the world, that ſpirit of Antichriſt whereof you have heard that it ſhould come, and even now already is it in the world," and 2 Theſſ. ii. 1, 2, 3, 4. "We beſeech you, that ye be not ſoon ſhaken in mind, or troubled, neither by ſpirit, nor by word, nor by letter, as from us, as that the day of Chriſt is at hand: let no man deceive you by any means, for that day ſhall not come except there come a falling away firſt, and that man of ſin be revealed, the ſon of perdition; who oppoſeth and exalteth himſelf above all that is called God, or that is worſhipped; ſo that he as God ſitteth in the temple of God, ſhewing himſelf that he is God.

Accordingly when we come to conſider by whoſe means it chiefly happened that the primitive beauty, purity and ſimplicity above hinted at, came to ſuffer an eclipſe, we ſhall find that it was not by aliens and open adverſaries, but by profeſſed brethren: that the greateſt enemies of the church were thoſe of her own houſe, even as was ſaid of Judas, John xiii. 18. "He that eateth bread with me hath lift up his heel againſt me," who kiſſed, and at the ſame time betrayed his Lord and Maſter: for indeed when we come to trace the origin and progreſs of the apoſtacy, we ſhall find that the great corrupters of Chriſtianity have been the pretended diſciples, apoſtles, and vicars of Chriſt Jeſus, who by their conduct have brought infamy upon the Chriſtian name and profeſſion, and expoſed it to that contempt with which it hath ſometimes been treated.

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* Cave's Primitive Chriſtianity.

Now in order that this may appear, I ſhall ſhew that the practices of thoſe men have been the moſt barefaced contradictions to the precepts of their Lord; that from the humility, meekneſs, and love by him exemplified and recommended, they have degenerated into the moſt enormous degree of pride and cruelty, from a heavenly diſpoſition of mind and contempt of worldly riches, into the moſt ſordid and moſt oppreſſive covetouſneſs; and that, as corruption of manners is commonly accompanied by that of judgment alſo, they have egregiouſly corrupted the primitive doctrine as well as diſcipline.

The true origin of this woeful apoſtacy ſeems to have been pretty deeply ſeated, viz. in the corruption of human nature: we are told that pride found admittance even among the angels, and degraded them from their heavenly ſtations. It alſo, through the inſinuation of the ſerpent, found entrance into Paradiſe, and appears to have been one principal cauſe of the fall of our firſt parents. See Gen. iii. 5, 6. And if the wiſe man's maxim, Prov. xiii. 10. viz. "Only by pride cometh contention," be of univerſal extent, it ſeems to have poſſeſſed ſome of the Chriſtians even of the early ages, and even ſo far as to have introduced among them the perſecution, one of another: for what was it elſe that cauſed Victor, biſhop of Rome, in the ſecond century, to raiſe ſo many broils in ſupport of his opinion, upon a queſtion of no more importance than this, On what day the Paſſover ought to be celebrated, and even to excommunicate all the churches of the leſſer Aſia, becauſe they celebrated that feſtival on the 14th day of the Firſt Month, and not on the Firſt-day of the week following, as he would have had it?

And again, upon the ſame principle, what elſe but pride was the origin of thoſe great contentions we read of, that the Chriſtians in the fourth century fell into about their creeds?

And moreover, certain external accidents attending the church ſeem to have had no ſmall ſhare in foſtering this pride incident to ſome of her members, that is to ſay, outward eaſe, liberty and an affluence of the riches of this world. When the church's fortune grew better, her ſons grew worſe, and ſome of her fathers, (as a learned author obſerves) worſt of all: and indeed, as far as I have learned, the moſt memorable æra from whence we may date the corruption of Chriſtians was, when the church, through the favour of Emperors, became endowed with lands, poſſeſſions, and patrimonies, ſo that (in the words of Fox, in his Acts and Monuments, Vol. I. p. 716.) 'the biſhops thereof, feeling the ſmack of wealth, eaſe, and proſperity, began to ſwell in pomp and pride,' where I alſo read, that about this time a voice was heard, as it were from Heaven, over the city of Conſtantinople, ſaying, "This day is poiſon poured forth into the churches."

That lordly impoſing ſpirit, which I have hinted at as creeping in among ſome of the leading men, even in the early times, grew much more flagrant in ſucceeding ages; and to ſuch a degree, that in proceſs of time, upon the growing pride of the prelates and corruption of the people, a ſpiritual ſovereignty was erected, a ſeparate juriſdiction was eſtabliſhed and tyrannically exerciſed over the reſt of mankind. Thus the word Church, which, in Scripture language, ſignifies any number of perſons who embraced the doctrine of the goſpel, and worſhipped God in the name of Jeſus Chriſt, was in proceſs of time wreſted from the people, and appropriated, together with the power thereto belonging, to a certain ſet of men who called themſelves the clergy. Now this was a mere novelty, and utterly inconſiſtent with the primitive example. For, ‘ in the apoſtolick age, the laity bore a part in the moſt ſolemn deliberations which concerned the intereſt and government of the church. The whole number of believers was conſulted in the choice of a fit perſon to ſucceed in the apoſtleſhip after Judas. The apoſtles, elders, and brethren, or as it is otherwiſe expreſſed in the 15th chapter of the Acts of the Apoſtles, the church, or all the multitude aſſembled at Jeruſalem to deliberate on the great queſtion, How far the gentile converts were obliged to ſubmit to the law of Moſes : and after the aſſembly had proceeded, not by apoſtolical authority, but in the way of a rational and free debate, they came to a reſolution, which they communicated to the churches, convened in the name of the whole body. Nor indeed did any of the biſhops of the firſt three hundred years after Chriſt claim any ſeparate excluſive powers for the exerciſe of church diſcipline, but left theſe matters to the provincial and dioceſan conſiſtories, which, in the purer ages of the church, were compoſed of biſhops, clergy, and laity.’*

Hence, in the laws of the Anglo Saxons, we find a perpetual mixture of eccleſiaſtical and civil laws †; nor was it until the papal power grew to a monſtrous heighth, under the Norman kings, that the clergy claimed a privilege of debating apart all matters, that in any wiſe related to religion, in eccleſiaſtical aſſemblies or ſynods. Even in the time of king Henry I. we meet with plain proofs of the civil court retaining their ancient juriſdiction in eccleſiaſtical cauſes; but in the time of king Henry II. the two courts, eccleſiaſtical and civil, are conſtantly ſpoken of as diſtinct, and enjoying ſeparate juriſdictions: and herein the clergy had the countenance and authority of pope Innocent II. (who began his reign A. D. 1130, and died 1143), who at this very juncture excluded the laity from all pontifical aſſemblies at Rome.*

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* Examination of the biſhop of London's ‘ Codex Juris Eccleſiaſtici Anglicani,’ publiſhed in London, 1735.

† Rapin's Hiſtory of England.

And here it ſeems worthy of obſervation, that the celibacy of the clergy was not eſtabliſhed until this time, or pretty near it; for in the New Teſtament, (1 Tim. iv. 1, 3) the prohibition of marriage is reckoned among the marks of apoſtacy and doctrines of devils, and even in the year of our Lord 601, marriage was allowed to prieſts that could not live continently; but in the year 1102, in the reign of king Henry I. a national ſynod was held, of which the fourth canon forbids the clergy to marry, or to live with their wives already married; † and this point once gained was a great ſtep towards putting in execution the project the pope had formed, of rendering the clergy independent of the civil power, and incorporating them into a ſociety apart, which ſhould be governed by its own laws: and indeed whilſt the prieſts had children of their own, it was a hard matter to prevent them from having ſome dependence on their princes, whoſe favour has ſo great an influence on the fortune of private perſons; but being without families, and conſequently in expectation of no great matters from their ſovereign, they were more at liberty to ſtick by the pope, who would be looked upon as the ſovereign of the clergy.‡

This however he did not attain to, till after a ſeries of ages of growing darkneſs and ignorance. For the biſhop of Rome at firſt had no more authority than others, nor was Rome deemed a mother church until the time of Boniface III. who did not begin to preſide till after the year of our Lord 600, and obtained from the emperor Phocas, that the ſee of Rome ſhould be acknowledged the head of all other churches: for before that, the Conſtantinopolitan church was accounted the higheſt, as Jeruſalem was before: nor did the church of Rome remarkably exerciſe her ſway over England until the 7th or 8th century. The ancient Britons had been converted to Chriſtianity by the apoſtles, or ſome of their diſciples,[*] and adhered to the rites preſcribed to them by their firſt teachers: and when Auſtin the monk came into England, being ſent by pope Gregory I, chiefly urging this one point, that they ſhould ſubmit to the authority of the pope, the church of Rome having made ſeveral innovations in the celebrating divine ſervice, to which they pretended all other churches ought to conform, the Britiſh biſhops refuſed to ſubmit to any alterations, profeſſing that they owed no more deference to the biſhop of Rome than to any other Chriſtian biſhop: however, by and by, they ſubmitted their necks to the yoke, for A. D. 669, Theodore, archbiſhop of Canterbury, as ſoon as he came into England, made a viſit to all the churches in his juriſdiction, and brought the people to a thorough conformity to the uſages of the church of Rome; and A. D. 735, the Engliſh archbiſhops went to Rome to receive the pall.[†]

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* See the place before cited.

† Rapin's Hiſtory of England, Vol. II.

‡ Ibid. Vol. II.

Beſides the celibacy of the clergy, there was yet another ſtratagem, by which the dominion of this mighty prince was extended far and near; of which Puffendorf, in his Spiritual Monarchy of the Church of Rome, gives us the following account:

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[*] "The firſt ſpringing of Chriſt's goſpel in England was in the time of king Lucius, in the year of our Lord 180, and the continuance of it from thence to the entrance of the Infidel Saxons, was 302 years. The decay of the ſame, to the entrance of Auſtin the monk, was 143 years." Fox's Acts and Monuments, Vol. I. p. 104.

[†] Rapin's Hiſtory of England, Vol. I.

"The popes claimed the ſupreme direction over the univerſities, whereby theſe were rendered mainly inſtrumental in maintaining the popiſh ſovereignty. For, in the univerſities, men are firſt tinctured with ſuch opinions as they are afterwards to make uſe of during their whole life, and inſtil them into others: and it was for this reaſon, that the ſciences there to be taught were ſure to be accommodated to the pope's intereſt. Here the profeſſors of divinity, thoſe of the canon law, and even the philoſophers, were the creatures and ſlaves of the pope; and indeed the divinity and philoſophy profeſſed in theſe univerſities, were not taught with an intention to make the young ſtudents more learned and underſtanding, but that the ingenious, by confuſed and idle terms, might be diverted from thoroughly canvaſſing thoſe matters which would have led them to the whole diſcovery of the popiſh intrigues: for their ſchool-divinity is not employed in ſearching the Holy Scripture, but for the moſt part entangled in uſeleſs queſtions, invented chiefly by Peter Lombard, Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, and other patriarchs of pedantry: and what they call philoſophy is nothing elſe but a collection of fooliſh chimeras, empty terms, and very bad Latin, the knowledge of which is rather hurtful than profitable. So that all their aim was, to take care that the ſciences ſhould not be fundamentally taught; and above all the reſt, the moſt uſeful of all, the doctrine of morality is much miſinterpreted, and entangled in an endleſs labyrinth, that the fathers confeſſors may not want means to domineer over laymen's conſciences, and that theſe may be rendered incapable to examine and rule their actions according to ſolid principles, but be obliged to be guided blindfold, at the pleaſure of their fathers confeſſors." So far Puffendorf.

Agreeable to all this was one ſingular maſter-ſtroke of inſolence which deſerves particular notice. It ſo happened, that many of the popiſh inſtitutions were directly contrary to the precepts and examples recorded in the New Teſtament: one thing therefore was neceſſary, which once admitted obviates entirely this difficulty to their reception, and that was to decree, as pope Nicholas did about the year 870, that the pope's laws and letters ſhould be of equal authority with the Scriptures.

And again, whereas the ſecurity of the kingdom of this ſpiritual ſovereign ſtood in darkneſs and ignorance, he and his adherents finding it neceſſary, in order to maintain themſelves in the peaceable poſſeſſion of this their kingdom, did arrogate unto themſelves a right of cenſuring and licenſing all ſorts of books whatſoever; by which means, they were effectually empowered to hinder any thing from coming to light, which might be prejudicial to their own intereſt.

But it was not ſufficient for this mighty prince, thus to have eſtabliſhed to himſelf an empire over the conſciences of men in ſpiritual matters, but he muſt exerciſe it alſo in temporals, and over kings and emperors.

Indeed the example of him who was Lord of all, who was the moſt perfect pattern of humility and meekneſs, ſtood in his way, as did alſo that expreſs declaration of his to his diſciples, (Mark x.) "Ye know that they which are accounted to rule over the Gentiles exerciſe lordſhip over them, and their great ones exerciſe authority upon them; but ſo it ſhall not be among you; but whoſoever will be great among you, ſhall be your miniſter, and whoſoever will be the chiefeſt ſhall be ſervant of all;" and therefore it ſeemed to him but decent, to put on the cloke of humility, and call himſelf Servus Servorum; but if one were to judge from his conduct, he were in reality rather King of kings, and Lord of lords, viz. when he took upon him the diſpoſal of kingdoms and empires, as is well known of pope Adrian IV. who gave this kingdom of Ireland unto Henry II. king of England, and of pope Innocent III. who A. D. 1195, crowned Otho the emperor, and afterwards depoſed him again, ſaying, ‘ It lies in my power to ſet up and pluck down emperors, kings, and princes, at my pleaſure, for all power is given unto me both in heaven and in earth.’ And by the ſame pope was the kingdom of England interdicted, king John excommunicated, and his ſubjects abſolved from their oaths of allegiance; and in the year of our Lord 1212, the king was depoſed, and the kingdom of England and lordſhip of Ireland, by him reſigned unto the pope: and the ſame king did thenceforward acknowledge himſelf a vaſſal to the holy ſee, and as ſuch bound himſelf to pay the yearly tribute of one thouſand marks, viz. ſeven hundred for England aud three hundred for Ireland.* That the popes did really, in ſome of the moſt eſſential concerns, invade the rights of princes to a great degree, may appear from hence, that pope John XXII. by his ſole authority publiſhed a truce between England and Scotland, againſt the conſent of one of the parties, and empowered his legates to conclude a peace between the two kingdoms, upon what terms they pleaſed, with orders to compel the two kings and their ſubjects punctually to keep it, under pain of excommunication.†

Next to the pope's pride, it remains that I give ſome account of his cruelty.

The great and glorious event of the birth of our Lord Jesus Chriſt, was introduced by that angelic acclamation, (Luke xi. 14.) “ Glory to God in the higheſt, on earth peace and good-will to men;” and Chriſt himſelf was the author of the new commandment, (John xiii. 34, 35), “ Love one another,” and laid down this as a ſtanding characteriſtic by which his diſciples ſhould be diſtinguiſhed, viz. that they loved one another.

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* Rapin's Hiſtory of England. † Ibid. Vol. IV.

Now, if war, bloodſhed, and the deſtruction of one another (even among the profeſſors of faith in the ſame Jeſus) be inſtances of peace and marks of love and good-will to men, then the pretended vicar of Chriſt Jeſus had them; but if theſe things be marks of hatred, he wants the diſtinguiſhing badge of a diſciple of Chriſt; and ſince, in the language of the apoſtle John, (1 John iv. 20.) "If a man ſay, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar," this appellation ſuits him better, whilſt, under the profeſſion of being a repreſentative of the Lamb of God, he is ſpreading deſolation and deſtruction among men.

Again the apoſtle ſaith, (2 Tim. ii. 24, 28) "The ſervant of the Lord muſt not ſtrive, but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, patient, in meekneſs inſtructing thoſe that oppoſe themſelves; if God peradventure will give them repentance to the acknowledging of the Truth." And the weapons of the welfare of the primitive Chriſtians were not carnal: but the weapons and methods the pope uſually had recourſe to for the overcoming of thoſe who oppoſed him were carnal, and the reverſe of gentleneſs, patience, and meekneſs; for whereas it is notorious, that eſpecially from the year 1160, to the year 1170, divers were by God's good Providence raiſed up to bear a publick teſtimony againſt the many groſs corruptions that had crept into the church, theſe were ſure to do this with the hazard of their lives and liberties, among whom were the followers of Wickliff, called Lollards in England, and the Waldenſes in France, many of whom were burned to death, and others ſcattered into divers countries by perſecution; and a few years after thoſe roſe the Albigenſes in the city of Tholouſe, againſt whom the pope incenſed ſent Dominic, with ſeveral miſſionaries called inquiſitors, into the county of Tholouſe, and employed armies againſt them, and deſtroyed above two hundred thouſand in the ſpace of ſome months.*

In the maſſacre of Paris, A. D. 1572, the number deſtroyed is computed at one hundred thouſand, the news whereof, as Thuanus tells us, they received at Rome with tranſports of pleaſure, and the pope and cardinals inſtantly repaired to St. Mark's to thank God for ſo great a favour conferred on the ſee of Rome, and appointed a Jubilee over the whole Chriſtian world for this ſlaughter of thoſe called Hereticks in France.

In the Iriſh maſſacre one hundred and fifty thouſand Proteſtants, according to the moſt moderate computation, were murdered in cold blood.† Nor are there wanting later inſtances of the continuance of the ſame cruel diſpoſition, particularly the perſecution in France under Lewis XIV. the cruelties at Thorn in Poland, and on the poor Saltzburghers ſtripped of all they had and driven from their habitations, and ſtill more recent examples might be produced to the ſame purpoſe.

In ſhort, we are aſſured from good authority that far more blood hath been ſhed by the papal empire and its agents, than ever was ſhed by Rome heathen: and indeed perhaps it may with too much truth be obſerved, that when eccleſiaſtical men once become corrupt, they ſeem zealous to outſtrip not only laymen, but even heathens and infidels, and to have exerciſed far more cruelty in inflicting their puniſhments than either of theſe; for, in ſome of the courts of inquiſition (erected firſt in the kingdom of him called the Catholick king, about the year 1479) any one not convicted, but barely ſuſpected of hereſy, is by various tortures tempted to accuſe himſelf (contrary to common law) and his goods are confiſcated

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* Sermons againſt Popery, A. D. 1735. † The Life of Oliver Cromwell.

(not after conviction, but) when they firſt apprehend him; and whatever proceſs is carried on againſt him no perſon knoweth, but only the holy fathers and the tormentors who are ſworn to execute the torments. The accuſation is ſecret, the crime is ſecret, and ſo is the witneſs; and even the priſoner in his examination ſwears inviolably to keep ſecret the affairs of the inquiſition, a method of procedure which the ancient heathens would undoubtedly have abhorred, as we may learn from the xxiv. xxv. and xxvi. chapters of the Acts. And although Chriſt Jeſus expreſsly forbids his diſciples to call for fire from heaven to conſume ſuch as would not receive him, yet his profeſſed repreſentative hath (by his agents) frequently called for and actually applied fire to the conſuming the bodies of ſuch as would not receive his impoſitions; and with reſpect to the torments of the inquiſition, it is obſerved that the final execution is not by common burning, but by a ſlow fire; and moreover, if the ſuppoſed heretick has been dead, though many years, the proceſs is carried on againſt him as if he were alive, and he is burnt in effigy with his bones, even as were the bones of that eminent reformer John Wickliff, after he had been dead forty-one years, taken out of the grave by a decree of the ſynod of Conſtance, and publickly burnt, and the aſhes thrown into the river.*

And when John Hus, another reformer, was condemned to be burnt by the ſynod of Conſtance, ſeven biſhops degraded him, and then a proper mitre was put on his head, &c. and the prelates delivered his body to be burnt, adding theſe words: ‘And we devote thy ſoul to the devil in Hell.’ Such was the cruelty peculiar to eccleſiaſticks, whereas when our temporal judges pronounce ſentence againſt the worſt malefactors, they pray, ‘ The Lord have mercy on thy ſoul.’*

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* See the Hiſtory of the Inquiſition at Goa; and the Hiſtory of the Engliſh Martyrs.

These and the above mentioned may ſuffice as ſhort ſpecimens of the pope’s pride and cruelty. Let us next take a view of the temper of his mind with regard to earthly treaſure, and ſee what title he has to the appellation of a repreſentative of Chriſt on this account alſo.

Now we find by the hiſtory of the New Teſtament that Chriſt Jeſus, who was greater than Moſes, who promiſed to the obedient an increaſe of outward ſubſtance, as of corn and cattle, Deut. xxviii. (the ſanctions of his laws being, for the moſt part, outward rewards and puniſhments) ever directed the deſires of his diſciples, not to the riches of this world, but to the ſpiritual ones, expreſsly enjoining them not to “ Lay up treaſures on earth, where moth and ruſt do corrupt and thieves break through and ſteal, but in heaven.” (Mat. vi. 19. 20.) Nor do I find in the catalogue of bleſſings pronounced by our Lord on the Mount, or elſewhere in the New Teſtament, one bleſſing on rich men as ſuch, but on thoſe who were poſſeſſed of a heavenly diſpoſition of mind: on the contrary, I find woes denounced on the rich and full, but bleſſings to the poor, in Luke vi. and conſiſtently with this the apoſtle Paul, in his firſt epiſtle to Timothy, chap. vi. ſays, “ Having food and raiment let us be therewith content; but they that will be rich, fall into temptation and a ſnare, and into many fooliſh and hurtful luſts, which drown men in deſtruction and perdition; for the love of money is the root of all evil, which while ſome coveted after they have erred from the faith, and pierced themſelves through with many ſorrows. But thou O Man of God, flee theſe things, and follow after righteouſneſs, godlineſs, faith, love, patience, meekneſs.”

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* Sermons againſt Popery, A. D. 1735.

Such was the ſenſe of the apoſtle Paul concerning the diſpoſition of mind that ought to prevail in a Chriſtian biſhop with regard to the riches of this world. Let us ſee how conſiſtently with this the biſhops of ſucceeding times have acted.

After the Chriſtian religion became modiſh, the liberality, partly of certain piouſly diſpoſed perſons, and partly of ſome deluded ones, who vainly imagined that by donations of this ſort they might purchaſe the remiſſion of their ſins, became great, and in proceſs of time increaſed to an enormous degree, even ſo far as to corrupt the minds of the receivers; for with the acquiſition of riches the deſire of them alſo by and by increaſed, even as commonly happens to mere carnal men; and truly to a greater degree in thoſe apoſtatizing Chriſtians than in heathens.

Property and power entering into Chriſtian (even as in other) ſocieties, created parties and factions. To accept of the office of a biſhop became, in proceſs of time, no longer an inſtance of ſelf-denial, nor a poſt of labour and vigilance as at firſt, but a deſirable bait to ſenſual men; and whereas their profeſſed Lord and Maſter teſtifieth of himſelf that though the foxes had holes, and the birds of the air neſts, yet he had not where to lay his head, nothing leſs than ſtately palaces at length would ſatisfy theſe his profeſſed repreſentatives. In ſhort, the goſpel-motive of love to the ſouls of men, gave way to, and was ſupplanted by views merely carnal and human; Chriſt was followed for the loaves and fiſhes, preaching the goſpel became a trade, and a very gainful one too.

A few inſtances ſhall ſuffice to ſhew what an advantageous trade the pope and his agents did follow, and how the ſpirit of avarice at length prevailed ſo far as to render the trade of prieſtcraft bare-faced, and that this was driven on to that extremity as at length to threaten, in ſome ſort, the ruin of thoſe that were exerciſed therein.

The office of a biſhop or other miniſter was originally ſuch as required a conſtant and aſſiduous reſidence; and indeed many ſevere canons and decrees of councils were made againſt pluraliſts and non reſidents; as likewiſe againſt the tranſlations of biſhops from one city or biſhoprick to another. But what did theſe canons avail? Truly they were but like ſpiders' webs, letting the great flies through, and catching the little ones, and ſo proved an effectual ſtratagem to bring money into the apoſtolical exchequer; for by that one clauſe of the pope's diſpenſing power, the richer clergy were indulged in their non-reſidence, &c. whilſt the poor vicars were bound by a conſtitution of Otho, to take a ſtrict oath of continual reſidence, and without it their inſtitution was declared to be null and void.*

The pope, in proceſs of time, engroſſed to himſelf the collation of almoſt all the church preferments, and conferred the greateſt part of the benefices in England on the cardinals and their relations, who enjoyed the profits without ever reſiding; and theſe benefices were commonly farmed out to the Engliſh, who, to make the moſt of them, got the cure ſerved for a very ſmall ſalary. Hence divine ſervice was neglected, the churches ran to ruin, and the inſtruction of Chriſtians was almoſt wholly laid aſide.† It appeared, however, upon a computation, made by order of king Henry III. A. D. 1245, that more money was carried out of England annually by the pope's authority, than all the revenues of the crown put together; and without doubt all the riches of the nation had been conveyed away through this channel, and the eccleſiaſticks ſoon become maſters of all the lands of the kingdom (ſeeing they daily acquired and never alienated), had not certain ſtatutes, particularly that of Mortmain, enacted in the reign of king Edward I. to check the growth of the riches of the clergy, prevented it.*

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* Dr. Ayliff's Parergon juris Canonici Anglicani.

† Rapin's Hiſtory of England.

But to conclude, about the year 1475, was erected the famous trade of pardons and indulgencies, i. e. a procurement of the remiſſion of the pains of purgatory, which was ſold for money like any other ware, in the time of Boniface IX.† And Thuanus ſays, that the pope ſent his bulls throughout Chriſtendom to raiſe money for his immenſe expences, promiſing the expiation of all ſins, and eternal life at a ſet price and rate, according to the nature of the crimes; and he appointed a treaſury and queſtors, and preachers, to ſet forth the value and efficacy of thoſe indulgencies. 'The collectors under the authority of pope Leo X. about the year 1516, perſuaded the people that whoſoever would give ten ſhillings, ſhould at his pleaſure deliver one ſoul from the pains of purgatory, and preached, that if it were one jot leſs than ten ſhillings, it would profit them nothing.'‡ Hence many were encouraged to ſin, and the authority of the keys was much debaſed.

Behold the awakening impoſition that made all men feel the bondage; and indeed this ſeems to have been the *ne plus ultra* of Romiſh corruption, or the very midnight of popiſh darkneſs, out of which, by God's good providence, emerged more reſplendent beams of the glorious light of the reformation. For this kind of filthy merchandize, being, among other countries, propagated alſo in Germany, by the means of Tecellus, a Dominican friar, his ſcandalous ſermons much moved Martin Luther the monk, who upon this occaſion publiſhed certain propoſitions concerning indulgencies,* which gave riſe to a controverſy, and from theſe ſmall beginnings he proceeded with great zeal and conſtancy to detect many of the long eſtabliſhed errors of popery.

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* Rapin's Hiſt. and Sermons againſt Popery.

† Polydore Virgil de rer. inventoribus.

‡ Fox's Acts and Monuments.

That great corruptions did really prevail in the church about this time; that there was a ſtrong neceſſity and even a loud call for a reformation, we may very ſafely affirm, ſince we have a remarkable teſtimony of Adrian the pope, then reigning, in his inſtructions publiſhed againſt Luther,† acknowledging it in theſe words:

'We confeſs that God ſuffereth this perſecution to be inflicted on his church for the ſins of men, eſpecially of prieſts and prelates of the clergy, and the Scripture teſtifieth that the ſins of the people do iſſue out from the ſins of the prieſts. We know that in this holy ſee there have been many abominable things wrought and practiſed. And no marvel if the ſickneſs beginning at the head have deſcended afterward to inferior prelates. Wherefore, &c. in us ſhall be lacking no diligence of a better reformation, firſt beginning with our own court, that like as the contagion firſt from thence deſcended into all the inferior parts, ſo reformation and amendment of all that is amiſs from the ſame place, again ſhall take its beginning: whereunto they ſhall find us ſo much the more ready, for that we ſee the whole world ſo deſirous of the ſame.' So far Pope Adrian.

Now, that under the influence of ſuch directors as thoſe above deſcribed, novelties and corruptions of the primitive diſcipline and doctrine ſhould creep in, we need not wonder; ſome inſtances whereof have been occaſionally mentioned already, viz. their prohibition of marriage to the clergy, their excluding the laity from the aſſemblies for church diſcipline, and the ſetting up the authority of the church of Rome above all other churches: a few more examples to the like purpoſe now follow, viz.

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* Fox's Acts and Monuments. † Ibid.

I. The veneration paid by the Papiſts to their images (contrary to the practice of the primitive Chriſtians within four hundred years after Chriſt, among whom no images were worſhipped or uſed in their churches*) and to their ſaints; to whom they erect temples and chapels, confeſs their ſins, pray and give praiſes, thus robbing the one ſupreme God of his honour. Now this their worſhip of ſaints is a practice borrowed from the heatheniſh theology, and particularly from the worſhip of dæmons among the Pagans; and accordingly they have a variety of ſaints and ſainteſſes to anſwer the gods and goddeſſes in the heathen world; and as the ſeveral kingdoms of the earth were formerly ſuppoſed to be under the protection of different gods, in like manner are they now conſigned over to the guardianſhip of ſeveral Roman ſaints, as St. Dennis for France, George for England, Andrew for Scotland, &c.

In ſome other inſtances they corrupted the ſimplicity of the goſpel by the introduction of divers Jewiſh rites. Thus the uſe of holy water, or the water of purifying, was a Jewiſh rite mentioned in the Eighth chapter of Numbers, where God commands the water of purifying to be ſprinkled on the Levites; and hence Alexander I. biſhop of Rome† is ſaid to have been the author of conſecrating ſuch cleanſing water, ordering it to be kept in temples and houſes to drive away devils. Whether the biſhop laſt mentioned, who preſided in the beginning of the Second century, was really the introducer of this cuſtom, I ſhall not take upon me to determine; however, its origin is plainly Jewiſh, and the continuance of it in the Chriſtian church, a voluntary relapſe from goſpel-liberty into Jewiſh bondage.

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* Cave's Primitive Chriſtianity.

† Polyd. Virg. de rer. inventorib. l. v. c. 8.

II. The prieſts' veſtments are derived from the Hebrews, as the laſt cited author ſhews in the mitre, ſurplice, girdle, &c. from Exodus xxviii. &c.

III. The payment of tithes is another Jewiſh rite, void of all ſupport by precept or example in the New Teſtament, and which was not eſtabliſhed until about the ſame æra as divers other popiſh corruptions. For as father Paul, in his Treatiſe of Eccleſiaſtical Benefices and Revenues, obſerves, the 'Law of tithes was a divine Moſaical law, and as ſuch, binding only to the Jewiſh people.—All right whatſoever of tithes is merely human; and about the year 1170, Alexander III. ordered proceedings by cenſures to enforce the payment of tithes, under pain of excommunication.'*

IV. Auricular confeſſion does not appear to have been abſolutely enjoined to be practiſed once a year, earlier than the 4th Lateran † council in 1215.

I ſhall ſubjoin but a few words of their corruptions of the Chriſtian doctrines, and firſt, in their doctrine of purgatory, which is expreſsly contrary to the ſenſe of the catholic church in the four firſt centuries; and is moreover acknowledged by an eminent popiſh author, and an opponent of Luther, to have been but lately received into the ‡ univerſal church.

Secondly. The doctrine of tranſubſtantiation is alſo another novelty, not broached until the Eighth century, and even about that time warmly oppoſed by the moſt learned men, particularly Johannes Scotus. In the year 1214, Pope Honorius III. commanded that the miſſal-bread ſhould be lifted up above the prieſt's head at a certain time, and that all the people ſhould fall down and worſhip it; and though the new-found device and term of Tranſubſtantiation was hatched in the Lateran council, A. D. 1059, the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation was not decreed or eſtabliſhed by any general council but the council * of Trent, A. D. 1551.

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* Father Paul's Treatiſe of Eccleſiaſtical Revenues, &c. chap. xxviii.

† Sermons againſt popery. A. D. 1735. ‡ Ibid.

To conclude; that divers of the novel order of Jeſuits, of whom Ignatius Loyala the founder was not canonized until 1622, did corrupt the great doctrines of Chriſtianity, and repreſent the Chriſtian morality as far ſhort of the purity of the heatheniſh, the reader may ſee in a treatiſe written by the Abbé de Berthier, publiſhed in Dublin, 1726, entitled the ‘Parallel of the Doctrine of the Pagans with the doctrine of the Jeſuits, and that of the Conſtitution Unigenitus, iſſued by Pope Clement XI.’ Out of ſeveral inſtances therein mentioned of the nature of the doctrines of theſe fathers, it ſhall ſuffice here to tranſcribe one as a ſpecimen of the reſt, viz.

Father Rhodes, in his ſcholaſtic theology, ſays, ‘if any one commits adultery or murder, and at the ſame time conſiders the malignancy and heinous nature of theſe actions but in ſuch a manner as is very imperfect and ſuperficial, though the matter of it is very groſs, yet his ſin is venial.’ To which I ſhall ſubjoin one inſtance more of the Chriſtian morality being repreſented even by the profeſſed vicar of Chriſt Jeſus himſelf, as far ſhort of the heatheniſh, viz. ‘in a bull of Pope Clement VI. in the year 1351, a diſpenſation was granted to John, king of France, and to queen Joan, his ſecond wife, giving to the king and queen's confeſſor a power to abſolve them both for the paſt and future from all engagements and contracts, though backed by an oath, if they could not keep them without ſome inconveniency.’ Thus is perjury authorized; whereas among the ancient Romans, it was an opinion generally received that

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* Sermons againſt Popery, A. D. 1735.

rather than break one's oath, one ought to be ready to brave all that is dreadful in baniſhment, impriſonment and torment.'[*]

Now ſurely it muſt have been in a time of deep ſleep that thoſe tares were ſown, that theſe groſs corruptions in doctrine and practice, theſe flat contradictions to the precepts laid down by the author of the Chriſtian religion in the New Teſtament, were broached; and indeed the broachers of them ſeem to have been well aware of their being ſuch, and therefore, conſiſtently enough, ordered that book to be locked up from the uſe of the vulgar; and that ignorance was the mother of devotion became an eſtabliſhed maxim among them; and (diſmal to relate!) the prayers of the church were to be muttered in a language which moſt of thoſe that were therein exerciſed did not underſtand; for even in queen Mary's time, in the year 1557, it was deemed a crime for any clergyman to perform divine[†] ſervice in Engliſh: and indeed an univerſal ignorance, extending to human as well as divine things, did reign for divers centuries preceding the grand æra of the midnight of popiſh darkneſs above hinted at: v. g. king Alfred who died in 900, complained bitterly that from the Humber to the Thames there was not a prieſt that underſtood the liturgy in his mother tongue; and that from the Thames to the ſea there was not a man that knew how to tranſlate the eaſieſt piece[‡] of Latin.

And in the 15th century, the ſtate of learning was very deplorable, viz. real learning was then ſcarce ſo much as heard of. School divinity and ſkill in the canon law were all the eccleſiaſticks valued themſelves upon, and it was the only road by which they could hope to arrive at church dignities. On the other hand, the monks who had crept into moſt of the profeſſorſhips in the univerſities had over-run divinity and philoſophy with ſuch a heap of jargon as ſerved only to give their diſciples falſe notions of learning,* and to teach them to wrangle.

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[*] Letter from a Librarian at Geneva, publiſhed in the London Magazine, 1751.

[†] Fox's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.

[‡] Rapin's Hiſtory of England, Vol. I.

But with the reformation in religion, a more ſolid and uſeful learning did alſo revive; and here it ſeems well worthy of notice, as a ſingular providence greatly favouring the progreſs and eſtabliſhment of the reformation, that about the year 1450, the myſtery of printing was firſt diſcovered; and is ſaid to have been brought into England, A. D. 1471, in the reign of Henry VI; which, as Fox obſerves, proved a forcible engine to batter popery, and a means of ſpreading knowledge among the people, who had with great care been kept in ignorance by the prevailing power. But now, as the poet ſays, by means of this excellent invention,

‘ Learning revives, nor fears again t'expire
‘ 'Midſt papal ignorance and Gothic fire:’

and 'tis humbly hoped that the ſame thing may juſtly now alſo be applicable to the reformed religion.

Thus have I, for the ſake of thoſe who may have been leſs converſant in theſe matters, given a brief portraiture of the apoſtacy of the profeſſors of Chriſtianity, thoſe eſpecially who affected the title of vicars and repreſentatives of Chriſt Jeſus; of whom as it is ſuppoſed to have been prophecied that his viſage was more marred than any man's, theſe men have taken care that this ſhould be amply fulfilled in the repreſentation they have given of Chriſt and his religion to the world: a religion, although calculated to promote the temporal as well as eternal happineſs of mankind, yet, if one were to frame his idea of it from their conduct as above deſcribed, would appear to be no better than a ſtratagem to enrich and aggrandize a few men, called eccleſiaſticks, at the coſt of impoveriſhing and enſlaving the reſt; from whence I ceaſe to wonder at the contempt with which the profeſſion of Chriſtianity, without the power and ſpirit of it, hath been ſometimes treated.

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* Rapin's Hiſtory of England, Vol. VI.

PART. II.

Of the Reformation, and its gradual progreſs, and the defects yet attending it.

OF the woful darkneſs above deſcribed, which did for ſome ages eclipſe the brightneſs of the goſpel-day, it hath ſeemed good to Divine Providence to forewarn us in the Revelation, where the church is ſuppoſed to be repreſented by the "woman clothed with the ſun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve ſtars," and being with child, and perſecuted by the dragon "whoſe tail drew the third part of the ſtars of heaven and did caſt them to the earth; and he ſtood before the woman which was ready to be delivered, for to devour her child as ſoon as it was born; but the child being brought forth, and caught up to God and his throne, ſhe fled into the wilderneſs," (a ſtate of obſcurity) and was to remain there during the time appointed her of God: which was but a limited time, and is believed to have been accompliſhed, and that the return of the church out of the wilderneſs commenced at the reformation, and that this great work ſhall be carried on and perfected in God's time.

It muſt indeed be acknowledged, to the glory of God's good providence, that even in the moſt dark and corrupt ages there was ſtill preſerved a faithful remnant, who bore witneſs againſt the prevailing corruptions, though the greater part of theſe were branded for hereticks by the ruling majority, whereof it is neceſſary to ſubjoin a few inſtances.

A. D. 815, Claudius, biſhop of Turin, is ſtigmatized for an arch heretick for teaching that the croſs is not to be worſhipped, nor the ſepulchres nor reliques of ſaints, and that pilgrimages are vain: and for the like reaſon were Petrus de Bruis and Henricus ex Monacho, A. D. 1119, branded for hereticks.*

In the year 1146 lived Hildegardis, a propheteſs, and indeed ſo eſteemed by the papiſts themſelves, who among other things † propheſieth againſt the prieſts and prelates of the Romiſh church thus:——

'Now is the law neglected among the ſpiritual people, which neglect to teach and do good things; the maſter likewiſe and the prelate do ſleep, deſpiſing juſtice, and laying it aſide: and in a certain viſion the church appeared to her in the ſhape of a woman complaining that the prieſts had bewrayed her face with duſt, rent her coat, &c. and that they did not ſhine over the people, neither in doctrine, nor example of life—that all eccleſiaſtical order did every day become worſe and worſe, and that the prieſts did not teach, but deſtroy the law of God: and for theſe horrible crimes ſhe threateneth and propheſieth unto them God's moſt heavy wrath and diſpleaſure, and doleful puniſhments. The crown of apoſtolical honour ſhall be divided, becauſe there ſhall be found no religion among the apoſtolical order; and for that cauſe ſhall they deſpiſe the dignity of that name, and ſhall ſet over them other men and other archbiſhops, in ſo much that the apoſtolic ſee of that time ſhall have ſcarce Rome and a few other countries thereabouts under his crown. And theſe things ſhall partly come to paſs by incurſion of wars, and partly alſo by a common counſel and conſent of the ſecular and ſpiritual perſons. Then ſhall juſtice flouriſh, ſo that in thoſe days men ſhall honeſtly apply themſelves to the ancient cuſtoms and diſcipline of ancient men, and ſhall obſerve them as ancient men did.'‡

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* Synops Concilior. Paris 1671.

† Fox's Eccl. Hiſtory, Vol. I. p. 237, 238. ‡ Ibid, Vol. I. p. 238.

A. D. 1160, one Waldo, a merchant of Lyons, applying himſelf to the ſtudy of the Scriptures, and finding there no grounds for ſeveral of the popiſh doctrines, and particularly tranſubſtantiation, publickly oppoſed them. His followers, called Waldenſes, were grievouſly perſecuted by the reigning power, ſome of them burnt to death, and others ſcattered into divers countries; and indeed they did overſpread a great part of * Europe, by which means (to the glory of God's Providence bringing good out of evil) the reformation was alſo ſpread.

Among others of their tenets were the following: 'That the church of Rome is Babylon ſpoken of in the Revelation: that praying for the dead is vain, and a thing only found out for the lucre of prieſts: that the hoſt is an idol: that the feaſts and feſtivals of the ſaints ought to be rejected: that preaching of the word is free to all men called † thereunto.'

And indeed in that dark interval of time, between the year 1170 and 1470, many bore a publick teſtimony againſt the corruption and abominable idolatry which was crept into the church; though commonly with the loſs of their liberties or lives; for a further account of whom I refer to the laſt-cited author; and it is obſervable, to the glory of the power and providence of God, now as formerly, "chooſing the weak things to confound the things that are mighty;" and that though there were ſome learned men among theſe, many of them were mean perſons, mechanics, and ſeveral women, (who ſuffered for their teſtimony to the Truth): not for the moſt part the men of the eſtabliſhment, the mercenary prieſts and biſhops, who were commonly their perſecutors, and hindered, as much as in them lay, the progreſs of the reformation.

In the year 1370, lived Bridget, dignified by the

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* Rapin's Hiſtory of England, Vol. III.

† Fox's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, Vol. I.

name of Holy, the church of Rome having canonized her not only for a ſaint, but propheteſs, who, notwithſtanding, in her book of revelations, was a great rebuker of the pope and of the filth of his clergy, calling him a murderer of ſouls, a ſpiller and piller of the flock of Chriſt, affirming that the prelates, biſhops, and prieſts, are the cauſe why the doctrine of Chriſt is neglected and almoſt extinct; that the clergy have turned the Ten Commandmens of God into two words, *Da Pecuniam*, or Give money; and propheſieth that the ſee of the pope ſhall be thrown down into the deep like a millſtone.*

But it were an inexcuſable neglect, in a diſcourſe of this kind, to ſuppreſs one fact redounding to the ſingular honour of the Engliſh nation, or rather a notable inſtance of God's goodneſs worthy of the moſt grateful commemoration from the people of theſe nations, viz. that England was one of the firſt that was favoured with the dawn of the glorious light of the reformation, even long before the days of Martin Luther, viz. by the means of John Wickliff, who has been called the morning-ſtar of the reformation, and was born about the year 1324, was Divinity Profeſſor in Oxford, and afterwards parſon of Lutterworth in Leiceſterſhire. He flouriſhed in the latter end of king Edward III. and the beginning of king Richard IId's time, about 130 years before the reformation of Luther.†

He publiſhed certain concluſions againſt tranſubſtantiation and the infallibility of the pope, and that the church of Rome was not the head of all other churches. That the New Teſtament is a perfect rule of life and manners, and ought to be read by the people. He alſo declared againſt the eſtabliſhment of tithes, aſſerting them to be pure alms, and maintained that to reſtrain men to a preſcribed form of prayer, is contrary to the liberty granted them by God.*

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* Fox's Eccleſiaſtical History.

† Neal's History of the Puritans.

For theſe and other pretended hereſies his books were, by the pope and his cardinals, condemned to the flames, and his bones were taken out of the grave and burnt forty-one years after his death, by a decree of the ſynod of Conſtance, as is before obſerved.

His followers, otherwiſe called Lollards, in the year 1389, began to ſeparate from the church of Rome, and to appoint prieſts from among themſelves to perform divine ſervice in their own way; and it is obſervable, that the church of England, though ſhe embraces Wickliff's doctrines with regard to articles of faith, cannot however forbear expreſſing very little eſteem for that doctor, becauſe he has combated the hierarchy which ſhe has thought fit † to retain.

That we may judge how neceſſary, and at the ſame time how great and difficult, that work of reformation was, which he was inſtrumental, through God's good providence, to promote, it ſeems worth our while to look back and conſider what the ſtate of the church was in thoſe days, which is thus deſcribed by Fox in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.

'The Scriptures, learning, and divinity, were known but to few, and that in the ſchools only, and there alſo converted almoſt all into ſophiſtry. Inſtead of Peter and Paul, men occupied their time in ſtudying Aquinus and Scotus, and the maſter of ſentences. The world leaving and forſaking the lively power of God's ſpiritual word and doctrine, was altogether led and blinded with outward ceremonies and human traditions, wherein the whole ſcope in a manner of all Chriſtian perfection did conſiſt and depend. In theſe was all hope of obtaining ſalvation fixed: hereunto all things were attributed. Inſtead of the apoſtolic gifts, and continual labours and travels, ſlothfulneſs and ambition was crept in among the prieſts.'

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* Neal's History of the Puritans.

† Rapin's History of England.

'Thus, in theſe times of horrible darkneſs and ignorance, what time there ſeemed in a manner no one ſpark of pure doctrine left remaining, did the aforeſaid John Wickliff, by God's providence, riſe up, through whom the Lord would firſt weaken and raiſe up the world overwhelmed with human traditions.'

Walter Brute was another of the firſt reformers mentioned by the ſame author, who appeared alſo in king Richard IId's time, among other truths contending for this, that tithes are not due by the law of Moſes, nor by the law of Chriſt, but by the tradition of men only: he alſo reaſoned ſtrongly upon Chriſtian principles againſt fighting and ſwearing.

A. D. 1410, the doctrines of the goſpel began to be ſpread in Bohemia, by means of the books of Wickliff (which happened through the intercourſe between England and Bohemia, upon occaſion of king Richard II. marrying queen Ann, who was a Bohemian) which then coming into the hands of John Hus (a learned man and preacher at that time in the univerſity of Prague), and others both men and women, eſpecially of the lay-ſort and artificers, were a means of awakening them: and Jerom, of Prague, Maſter of Arts, was the companion of the ſaid Hus, and his fellow in bonds, and both underwent the ſame tragedy, viz. were burnt to death, and their aſhes thrown into the river.

About the year 1517 and 1521, Luther, in Germany, and Zuinglius, in Switzerland, wrote againſt the Pope's indulgencies and pardons, and from thence proceeded gradually to detect many other of the errors of popery, as is above obſerved; and the reformation made a conſiderable progreſs in thoſe countries by the preaching and writings of the ſaid

Luther, Zuinglius, Melancton, Oecolampadius and others, ſome of whoſe books which had been publiſhed in thoſe parts, being tranſlated into Engliſh, excited the curioſity of the people to look into the ſtate of religion at home.

At a time not far diſtant from this, ‘ William Tindal, brought up in the univerſity of Oxford, where he increaſed as well in the knowledge of the tongues and liberal arts as (and more eſpecially) in the knowledge of the Scriptures, whereunto his mind was ſingularly addicted, conſidering the great miſchief done to the church, by keeping the Scriptures of God hid from the people's eyes, was therefore moved to tranſlate the Scripture into his mother-tongue, for the publick utility of the ſimple vulgar people of the country, and accordingly did tranſlate the New Teſtament about the year of our Lord 1527 or 1529. But, did the clergy and prelates encourage the publication of it? No ſuch matter; they cried out ſtrenuouſly againſt it, repreſenting that there were a thouſand hereſies in it; that it was not fit to be corrected, but utterly to be ſuppreſſed. Some ſaid, that it was not poſſible to tranſlate the Scripture into Engliſh; ſome that it was not lawful for lay-people to have it in their mother-tongue; ſome that it would make them all hereticks; and to the intent to induce the temporal rulers alſo to their purpoſe, they ſaid it would make the people to rebel and riſe againſt their king. Such were the forward devices of the Engliſh clergy to drive the people from the text and knowledge of the Scripture, which they would neither tranſlate themſelves, nor yet abide it to be tranſlated by others: to the intent (as Tindal himſelf ſaith) that, the world being kept ſtill in darkneſs, they might ſit in the conſciences of the people through vain ſuperſtition and falſe doctrine, to ſatisfy their luſts, their ambition, and unſatiable covetouſneſs. In fine, the clergy never reſted until they had procured by proclamation the prohibiting the ſaid tranſlation of the New Teſtament of Tindal, and not contented herewith, proceeded further to entangle him in their nets and bereave him of his life, which at length they effected.' *

However, this tranſlation of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue did at length prevail over oppoſition; whereby the doctrines of the New Teſtament were ſpread among the people, whoſe curioſity was alſo hereby greatly raiſed; and although the biſhops bought up and burnt all the books of this ſort they could meet with, the teſtament was printed abroad, and ſent over to merchants in London, who diſperſed the copies privately among their friends and acquaintance: and at length Tindal's bible, reviewed and corrected by Cranmer, was allowed by authority, and in the year 1538, by king Henry VIIIth's injunctions, was ſet up in all the churches in England, that the people might read it.†

Such light was by this means diffuſed among the people, as ſoon detected many of the abominable corruptions of the Chriſtian doctrine, which had crept in, in the times of darkneſs and ignorance; particularly purgatory, the power of indulgencies, tranſubſtantiation, the worſhip of ſaints, and veneration of images, the ſupreme authority of the church and biſhop of Rome, &c. which, like birds of the night, diſappeared on the dawn of this glorious day: and indeed the firſt reformers deſerve to be acknowledged as excellent inſtruments, raiſed up by God's good providence, to begin the purging and building of his houſe, and worthy to be had of us and poſterity in everlaſting remembrance: but, without in the leaſt detracting from the honour due to thoſe Chriſtian heroes, it muſt be acknowledged that the great work of a complete reformation and reſtoration of the primitive purity and ſimplicity was not the work of one

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* Fox's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. † Neal's Hiſtory of the Puritans.

day, year, or age; and indeed as the apoſtacy itſelf did not arrive at that tremendous height to which I have traced it, ſo neither is the return from thence to be effected, all at once; but notwithſtanding divers conſiderable advances have been made at different times, and in different countries in this great work, and ſome eſtabliſhments been formed, yet that ſome of the dregs of popiſh corruption have been, and ſtill are, retained, we acknowledge and deplore, with many ſincere proteſtants of other communities, the removal of which is earneſtly to be deſired.

To this purpoſe I think it worth while here to recite ſome part of the memorable ſpeech of John Robinſon, an Independent miniſter, on his taking leave of his congregation, mentioned in Neal's Hiſtory of the Puritans, in the time of king James I. A. D. 1620, viz. ‘Follow me no farther than you have ſeen me follow the Lord Jeſus. If God reveal any thing to you by any other inſtrument of his, be as ready to receive it as ever you were to receive any truth by my miniſtry; for I am verily aſſured that the Lord has yet more truth to break forth out of his holy word. For my part I cannot ſufficiently bewail the condition of the reformed churches who are come to a period in religion, and will at preſent go no farther than the Inſtruments of their reformation. The Lutherans cannot be drawn to go farther than what Luther ſaw: and the Calviniſts ſtick faſt where they were left by that great man of God, who yet ſaw not all things. This is a miſery much to be lamented; for though they were burning and ſhining lights in their times, yet they penetrated not into the whole counſel of God. It is not poſſible that the Chriſtian world ſhould come ſo lately out of ſuch thick antichriſtian darkneſs, and that perfection of knowledge ſhould break forth at once.’

I proceed therefore to the ungrateful taſk of ſpecifying ſeveral inſtances of the imperfection of the reformation, and to ſhew the true grounds of the ſeparation of this people from the eſtabliſhed church of this nation, with reſpect to ſome of the moſt important particulars wherein they differ from it; whether they be ſuch as are common to them and other proteſtant diſſenters, or ſuch as are peculiar to themſelves.

That too much of the pride and covetouſneſs, and ſome degree of the tyranny, of antichriſt is ſtill retained, among the men called the clergy of the eſtabliſhment, will be too manifeſt if we conſider,

I. That they alſo appropriate unto themſelves both the name and juriſdiction of the church, excluding thoſe they call Laicks both from the title and the power annexed to it; hereby depriving them of their original rights as Chriſtian brethren, according to the primitive example, as is before ſhewn; and that the entire ſeparation of laymen from the eccleſiaſtical aſſemblies was the genuine effect of the growing pride of the clergy, and did not take place until Pope Innocent IId's time.

II. What, but the remains of the pride of antichriſt hath induced thoſe called Lords-Archbiſhops and Lords-Biſhops to aſſume a lordſhip over God's heritage, and to become too little apt to teach, contrary to the primitive injunction to biſhops?

III. Perſecution is another of the vile reliques of the pride and cruelty of antichriſt; and to ſay the truth, too much of the principles and ſpirit of perſecution came over with the reformers themſelves; and almoſt all parties and denominations in their turn have had a notion of ſerving God by doing miſchief to men, men who could not believe as they pleaſed, or would not lie in profeſſing to believe what they did not.

Thus, though the church of England be juſtly eſteemed at preſent for her moderation, having long ſince ceaſed to puniſh diſſenters, as formerly, with impriſonment, and the loſs of eſtate or life; yet as long as Athanaſius's creed, together with the ſentence of everlaſting perdition thereunto annexed, is retained, and a ſubſcription of certain articles of faith is impoſed in their univerſities, on all their members, on pain of their entire excluſion from thence, methinks it can hardly be denied that ſomething of that ſame tyrannical ſpirit (which as is before ſhewn, arrogated to itſelf the ſupreme direction of univerſities) is ſtill retained alſo in this inſtance: and indeed every impoſition of creeds, common prayers, and liturgies, ſcarce poſſible to be ſo framed as every one can honeſtly ſubſcribe them, ſeems to have taken its riſe from the ſame origin; and the multiplication of creeds has ever been attended with the pernicious conſequence of ſcattering and dividing Chriſtians, although propoſed as a means to unite them.

I find that the very ſame ſpirit prevailed likewiſe both in the Kirk of Scotland, and the Preſbyterians in England; for in the year 1645, the Scots publiſhed a declaration againſt the toleration of ſectaries, and liberty of conſcience, in which they even ſay, that liberty of conſcience is the nouriſher of all hereſies and ſchiſms; and the Preſbyterians, during the anarchy, frequently addreſſed for the ſuppreſſion of all ſectaries by the civil authority, and declared againſt toleration and liberty of conſcience, both from the pulpit and preſs. They preſſed covenant-uniformity, yea and uniformity in matters of belief, on pain of impriſonment and death itſelf, as appears by their ordinance againſt what they are pleaſed to call blaſphemy and hereſy.*

IV. I proceed next to conſider the covetouſneſs of thoſe who call themſelves the clergy of the reformed church.

What a trade the pope and his dependents exerciſed with the goſpel; how gainful to themſelves, and oppreſſive to the people, has been amply ſhewn above. It were greatly to be wiſhed, that it could be affirmed, truly, that nothing of the ſame ſpirit poſſeſſed the hearts of the reformers: but the truth is, that the preſent ſupport of their miniſtry is worldly, and their call, though profeſſedly from a motion of the Holy Spirit, is truly like a merely human one, undertaken not only for the ſupport, but aggrandizement of families, contrary to the tenor of the precepts of the goſpel. Their maintenance by tithes is no other than a Jewiſh rite, a popiſh innovation which took place in the midnight of apoſtacy and degeneracy, as has been before obſerved; when a corrupt miniſtry, becoming ſtrangers to the love of God and their brethren, loſt alſo confidence in both, and ſo deemed it neceſſary to have ſecured to themſelves by law what wanted authority in the goſpel, and by force to extort a maintenance formerly yielded by free will: nor indeed can we ſay better of ſome of the pretended reformers in the anarchy; for although the Independents and Anabaptiſts concurred in deſiring the abolition of tithes as being of Judaical inſtitution, which was alſo one of thoſe national grievances the army propoſed to redreſs, yet the reigning party were not willing to part with an eſtabliſhment ſo grateful to fleſh and blood; for the parliament in the year 1644, publiſhed an ordinance enjoining the payment of tithes.

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* Neal's Hiſtory of the Puritans, Vol. III. p. 497, 498, 499, 500.

A few more particular inſtances of covetouſneſs too flagrant, and ſuch as are both highly reproachful to a Chriſtian miniſtry and hurtful to mankind, will but too clearly evince what I propoſed, viz.

I. What is the diſpenſing with the publication of the bans of matrimony in the congregation, by a biſhop's licence, for a certain ſum of money, but a corruption of Chriſtian diſcipline for the ſake of filthy lucre? and truly of the ſame ſpirit and origin as the diſpenſing power of the Pope, or the redeeming of penance with money; a corruption ſo much the more worthy of being taken notice of, as by this means the rights of parents are daily invaded, many an unthinking couple are precipitated into ruin, and the peace and religious œconomy of families is deſtroyed through this truly licentious method of marriage, and which by a ſtrict and wholeſome diſcipline, might, in many caſes, be prevented.

II. What ſhall we think of their pluralities of benefices, and their non-reſidence, but as reproachful inſtances of the ſame ſpirit of covetouſneſs ſtill ſubſiſting, and an expreſs breach of the ſolemn promiſe made by every prieſt at his ordination? 'that beſides adminiſtring the doctrine and ſacraments and diſcipline of Chriſt, he will be ready to uſe public and private monitions and exhortations, as well to the whole as the ſick within his cure, as need ſhall be given, and as occaſion ſhall require?'

I have above ſhewn, that theſe non-reſidences and pluralities, as likewiſe the tranſlation of biſhops from one city or biſhoprick to another, are ſeverely prohibited by divers canons and decrees of councils received even among the papiſts; and that the diſpenſing with them is, in its original, a genuine fetch of popiſh policy to get money; from which it is greatly to be wiſhed that the churches profeſſing reformation were entirely delivered.

As I look upon this affair, how much ſoever countenanced or neglected at preſent, to be of great moment, I think it worth my while to tranſcribe here (from Fox's acts and Monuments) the ſenſe of a king of England on this matter, viz. Henry III. who on this occaſion wrote to one of his biſhops in the following terms, viz.

‘ The King to the Biſhop of Hereford ſendeth greeting.

‘ Paſtors or ſhepherds are ſet over their flocks that by exerciſing themſelves in watching over them day and night, they may know their own cattle by their look, bring the hunger-ſtarved ſheep into the meadows of fruitfulneſs, and the ſtraying ones into one fold, by the word of ſalvation and the rod of correction, and to do their endeavour that unity indiſſoluble may be kept.

‘ But ſome there be, who damnably deſpiſing this doctrine, and not knowing to diſcern their own cattle from another's, do take away the milk and the wool, not caring how the Lord's flock may be nouriſhed: they catch up the temporal goods, and who periſheth in their pariſh with famiſhment, or miſcarrieth in manners they regard not: which men deſerve not to be called paſtors, but rather hirelings.

‘ And that we even in theſe days, removing ourſelves into the marches of Wales, to take order for the diſpoſing of the garriſons of our realm, have found this default in your church of Hereford, we report it with grief; for that we have found there a church deſtitute of a paſtor's comfort, as having neither biſhop nor official, vicar nor dean, that may exerciſe any ſpiritual function or duty in the ſame. But the church itſelf (which was wont in times paſt to flow in delight, and had canons that tended upon days and nights ſervice, and that ought to exerciſe the works of charity, they forſaking the church, and leading their lives in countries far hence) hath put off her ſtole or robe of pleaſure, and fallen to the ground, bewailing the loſs of her widowhood, and there is none among all her friends and lovers that will comfort her. Verily, whilſt we beheld this, and conſidered diligently, the prick of pity did move our bowels, and the ſword of compaſſion did inwardly wound our heart very ſore, that we could no longer diſſemble ſo great injury done to our mother the church, nor paſs the ſame over uncorrected.

‘ Wherefore we command and ſtrictly charge you, that all occaſions ſet aſide, you endeavour to remove yourſelf with all poſſible ſpeed unto your ſaid church, and there perſonally to execute the paſtoral charge committed unto you in the ſame. Otherwiſe we will you to know for certainty, that if you have not a care to do this, we will wholly take into our own hands all the temporal goods and whatſoever elſe doth belong unto the barony of the ſame church; which for ſpiritual exerciſe therein it is certain our progenitors out of a godly devotion have beſtowed thereupon. And ſuch goods and duties which we have commanded hitherto to be gathered, and ſafely kept and turned to the profit and commodity of the ſame church, the cauſe now ceaſing, we will ſeize upon and ſuffer no longer that he ſhall reap temporal things, which feareth not unreverently to withdraw and keep back ſpiritual things, whereunto by office and duty he is bound, or that he ſhall receive any profits which refuſeth to undergo and bear the burthen of the ſame.

‘ Witneſs the king at Hereford, the 1ſt of June, in the 48th year of our reign.’

So much for the pride and covetouſneſs; I proceed next to conſider whether or no ſome degree of the ſuperſtition and idolatry of Antichriſt be not alſo retained among our profeſſed reformers.

By ſuperſtition I mean a ſtrenuous adherence to ſeveral of thoſe things which were introduced in the time of Popiſh darkneſs and apoſtacy, without any authority from Scripture. And by their participating of idolatry, I underſtand their inordinate and unjuſtifiable veneration of mere outward ſigns, ſhadows, and repreſentations.

Under the firſt head I rank the preſent obſervation of ſaints days among thoſe of the eſtabliſhment, who though they have juſtly thrown out the great rabble of Romiſh ſaints and ſainteſſes, yet ſtill retain many without any authority from Scripture; the obſervation of which is ſtill groſsly perverted to the purpoſes of vice, idleneſs, and the impoveriſhment of families, to the no ſmall ſcandal of the Chriſtian profeſſion, which ſurely it were now much better to lay aſide, even as for this very reaſon was the celebration of the feaſts appointed on the days of the deaths of the early martyrs, being perverted to exceſs and intemperance, in proceſs of time, laid quite aſide.* To the ſame head I refer their dedications of churches, and conſecrations of grounds and houſes.

II. Though they have in part thrown out the holy water, one Jewiſh rite, they have thought fit to retain another, viz. the clerical habits, which have been before ſhewn to be derived from the Jews, and were eſtabliſhed in the times of popery, and yet are to this day inſiſted on as eſſential. What is this but an evident breach of goſpel liberty, and a relapſe into Jewiſh bondage, the New Teſtament being entirely ſilent about theſe things.

III. Though they have indeed moſt juſtly thrown down the popiſh altars as well as images; yet if we impartially conſider the degree of veneration paid by them to thoſe two outward ſigns and ſhadows commonly called the ſacraments, it ſeems to fall very ſhort of idolizing them.

That this may appear, I offer to their conſideration,

I. That there have been raiſed more controverſies and quarrels (yea ſometimes excommunications and perſecutions even to bloodſhed), on account of theſe outſide things, both betwixt Papiſts and Proteſtants, and among Proteſtants betwixt themſelves, than matters eſſential to the ſalvation of the ſouls of men.

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* Cave's Primitive Chriſtianity.

Now, what are ſuch vehement and inordinate contentions about ſuch things, but the genuine products of carnal minds preferring forms, ſhadows, and circumſtances, to the power, ſubſtance, and eſſence of things: to the deſtruction of charity, the badge of Chriſtian diſcipleſhip?

II. The church of Rome indeed is accuſed of flagrant idolatry in falling down to worſhip a piece of bread; and the zeal and indignation of many of the firſt reformers on this occaſion, is very remarkable, ſome of whom did ſnatch the hoſt out of the prieſt's hands and deſtroy it, in order to ſhew by the evidence of ſenſe the impotency of this their new-made god: a method of reaſoning that ſeems to me very juſtifiable from what I find recorded with marks of God's approbation, in the conduct of king Hezekiah, in a caſe that ſeems to bear analogy to the preſent; viz. when the children of Iſrael burnt incenſe to the brazen ſerpent (though formerly erected by divine appointment), he broke it to pieces, and called it by way of contempt, Nehuſhtan, *i. e.* a piece of braſs. But to return,

The common ſnare to catch the firſt reformers, was to aſk them what they believed of the ſacrament of the altar, and their uſual anſwer, that it was an idol, ſpeedily condemned them to the flames. Now as the Reformation had its beginning in their thus bearing teſtimony againſt the ſuperſtitious, inordinate, and extravagant regard paid to outward ſigns and ſhadows, ſo ſhall it receive its completion, when men, rejecting all vain confidence in theſe things, ſhall embrace the ſubſtance.

In the mean time it muſt be owned that many of the ſucceſſors of the firſt reformers, have been ſo far deficient in this reſpect, or at leaſt ſo far from an harmonious and conſiſtent conduct on this occaſion, as to have given too much grounds for the following ſarcaſm of an adverſary, viz.

> ‘ The Papiſts have a better plea
> Than you, when they adore't they ſay
> It is no longer bread and wine,
> But changed by the word divine
> Into the body of our Lord,
> And therefore ought to be ador'd.’

But of the church of England, he ſays thus:

> ‘ Kneeling when they communicate,
> Although it is but bread they eat.’

They do not indeed avow with the Papiſts that the bread and wine is a propitiatory ſacrifice for the living and dead, and a means to deliver ſouls out of purgatory; but yet, when beſides the circumſtance of kneeling, enjoined upon pain of a deprivation of divers civil as well as religious privileges, it is alſo made a *viaticum morientium*, or paſſport for dying ſinners; when (without authority from Scripture) it is dignified by the title of a principal ſeal of the covenant of grace; and when we are told that the worthy receivers do really and indeed feed on Chriſt crucified, and receive of his fullneſs, and are hereby made partakers of all the benefits of Chriſt's death to their ſpiritual nouriſhment and growth in grace; I pray, what mighty difference is there between theſe things and what the Popiſh manual pronounces concerning their venerable ſacrament of the altar, viz. that herewith we are nouriſhed, cleanſed, ſanctified, and our ſouls made partakers of all heavenly graces and ſpiritual benedictions? Is not all this an abundant evidence of an inordinate and ſuperſtitious regard paid hereunto, and ſuch as cannot be warranted by authority from Scripture? Is not this (in the words of an eminent author*) plainly attributing that to a ſingle ceremony, which, according to the conſtant tenor of the New Teſtament, is due only to an univerſal, faithful obſervation of the laws of God: and I add, to the great damage of the ſouls of men, who may be hereby betrayed into a dangerous and unwarrantable confidence in theſe outward things? And how much all this falls ſhort of idolizing the outward and viſible ſign, I leave to the judicious.

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* Plain Account of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, publiſhed in London, 1735.

Let us next ſee whether we can entirely acquit them of the ſame error with regard to water-baptiſm. I do indeed find that the church of Rome placeth infants dying unbaptized in the upper part of hell; and truly the baptiſm of infants ſeems to have been the genuine conſequence of an opinion of its being abſolutely neceſſary to ſalvation, whence their licenſing of midwives to baptize children in ſome caſes; and they affirm that it maketh them children of God, infuſeth juſtifying grace, and all ſupernatural graces and virtues. Now though I dare not affirm of ſeveral Proteſtants, that they do literally proceed to all theſe lengths, yet when we find that when the child is required to anſwer, that by baptiſm it was made a child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven; when in the office for the burial of the dead, over all who have undergone this operation, whether ſaints or ſinners, theſe words, are pronounced, ‘Foraſmuch as it hath pleaſed God of his great mercy to take the ſoul of our dear brother here departed unto himſelf, we therefore, &c. in ſure and certain hope of the reſurrection to eternal life,’ &c. But on the contrary, if any have not been baptized, he ſhall not have the honour of this which is called Chriſtian burial; in ſhort, when unto the ceremony of baptiſm is peculiarly annexed regeneration, purgation from original ſin, and a ſure and certain hope of a happy reſurrection, as it ſeems to be by the letter of the Common Prayer; it is obvious to remark, that what the judicious author above quoted has obſerved concerning the Lord's ſupper, is alſo juſtly applicable to theſe accounts of baptiſm (in reality but very little ſhort of the above mentioned accounts which the church of Rome hath been pleaſed to give of it), viz. that this alſo is plainly attributing that to one ſingle ceremony, which the whole tenor of the New Teſtament attributes to univerſal holineſs and obedience to God's commands, a more effectual ſeal and ſign undoubtedly of a man's being a child of God, of his ſins being remitted, and a far better ground for a hope of a happy reſurrection; or in other terms, that one baptiſm whereof the New Teſtament frequently ſpeaks, and particularly in Pet. iii. 21. "The baptiſm which now ſaveth us is not the putting away the filth of the fleſh, but the anſwer of a good conſcience towards God, by the reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt." And Rom. vi. that baptiſm by which we "are buried with Chriſt into death, that like as Chriſt was raiſed up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even ſo we ſhould walk in newneſs of life."

Such a baptiſm ſeems moſt ſuitable to the ſpirituality of the new covenant diſpenſation, even the ſubſtance, for ever to be magnified above all the "outward waſhings and carnal ordinances impoſed until the time of reformation," Heb. ix. 10. and whereof theſe things are no more than a ſhadow or repreſentation, although ſo ſtrenuouſly cried up by the miniſters of the letter; whilſt all ſuch as have not undergone theſe adminiſtrations from their hands have ordinarily been by them numbered among infidels; whereas the others do hereupon (if we believe them) inſtantly commence "children of God, regenerate and heirs of everlaſting life." Now how far all theſe things fall ſhort of idolizing the outward and viſible ſign, I muſt alſo leave.

I proceed in the next place, to conſider the ſentiments and practice of the men of the eſtabliſhment, with regard to the call and qualifications of a Chriſtian miniſtry, and the exerciſe of ſpiritual gifts in the church: as another important inſtance of their falling greatly ſhort of the primitive pattern.

It might indeed ſeem raſh to affirm that the call and qualifications of the miniſtry of the eſtabliſhment are merely human and worldly, ſeeing in the book of Common Prayer, an eſſential requiſite to the conſtitution of a deacon is, that he declare that he believes he is inwardly moved of the Holy Ghoſt to take upon him that office; and that the biſhop in the ordination of every prieſt ſays, 'Receive the Holy Ghoſt,' whence undoubtedly the firſt compilers of that book muſt have deemed ſuch qualification eſſential to a Chriſtian miniſtry; and indeed to ſuppoſe that they who give and receive holy orders at this day, do it not ſincerely, were to ſuppoſe them groſs prevaricators with God and man. I ſhall therefore ſuppoſe them to be ſincere in what they do; but then ſhall beg leave to aſk them, by what authority they have, to the utmoſt of their power, limited the free and univerſal grace and Spirit of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt to themſelves, and to ſuch only as ſhall be clothed with certain particular veſtments, and have ſtudied the liberal arts?

Such limitations of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, ſuch reſtraints on the liberty of propheſying, ſeem to be very remote from the ſpirit, temper, and practice of the holy men recorded in the Old and New Teſtament: for we read of Moſes, (Numbers xi.) that he was ſo far from ſuch a monopolizing diſpoſition, that when news was brought to him that Eldad and Medad did propheſy in the camp, and he was deſired to forbid them, he anſwered, "Envieſt thou for my ſake? Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets, and that he would put his Spirit upon them:" and Moſes himſelf was a keeper of ſheep, as well as Jacob and David; Eliſha, a ploughman;

Amos, a herdſman; Peter and John, fiſhermen; Matthew, a toll-gatherer; Paul, a tent-maker; and Luke, a phyſician; and though looked upon as lay people by the prieſts of thoſe ages, yet it pleaſed God, by the operation of his Spirit, not to be bounded by mortal man, to inſpire and make of them prophets, apoſtles, and evangeliſts.

This indeed will be eaſily allowed with reſpect to thoſe former ages, but is pitifully denied to later times; whereas according to my ſenſe, it was the ſame Spirit that inſpired our firſt reformers, even that wiſdom which is deſcribed to be the "Breath of the power of God, and a pure influence that floweth from the glory of the Almighty, which entering into holy ſouls, maketh them friends of God and prophets:" (Wiſdom of Solomon, vii. 27.) or in other words, that eternal word of which we read in the Firſt of John, which took fleſh in the perſon of Jeſus Chriſt, who afterwards promiſed to be with his diſciples to the end of the world; which can be no otherwiſe than by the ſame Word or Spirit; and accordingly I make no difficulty in believing that it was this ſame ſpirit that actuated Waldo, the merchant of Lyons above mentioned, and his followers, thoſe early reformers, and particularly (to return to our point) their teachers, though ſome of them were mechanicks, as weavers and coblers, which when it was offered as matter of reproach to them, they anſwered, that they were not aſhamed of them becauſe they laboured with their hands, according to the example of the apoſtles. Acts xx. 34.

Such a liberty of propheſying is alſo through the goodneſs of God revived and maintained in our days; and though leſs adapted to tickle the ears than ſuch preachings as come recommended by the decorations of human art, yet herein alſo more conformable to the primitive pattern, as well as experienced more effectual to the edification of the hearers; (1 Cor. ii.

4, 5.) and indeed the purity and ſimplicity of the doctrines of the goſpel (now through the bleſſing of God no longer concealed in foreign languages, but obvious and clear to an ordinary capacity) ſeem more likely to be preſerved among men of clean hearts and moderate underſtandings, than among many of thoſe whoſe learning, not being ſanctified, hath tempted them to corrupt, under a pretence of refining it.

Another inſtance of goſpel liberty revived, and agreeable to the primitive example, though forbidden in the national and moſt other churches, is that of propheſying (or ſpeaking to edification, exhortation, and comfort) one by one, that all might learn, and all might be comforted. 1 Cor. xiv. 3, 31.

I know it will here be alledged, that propheſying or preaching as a gift of the Holy Ghoſt, is now ceaſed, together with other extraordinary operations thereof, as the gifts of healing and tongues. But to this I anſwer, That the gift of propheſying (i. e. in the ſenſe of Paul the apoſtle, "Speaking to men to edification, exhortation, and comfort," 1 Cor. xiv. 3, 31.) is not leſs neceſſary now than in the early ages of the church, which cannot with truth be affirmed of the gifts of tongues and healing; tongues, by the teſtimony of the ſame apoſtle, "being for a ſign not to them that believe, but to them that believe not (which is applicable to the gift of healing); but propheſying ſerveth not for them that believe not, but for them which believe." 1 Cor. xiv. 22.

And indeed, as I conceive, the only reaſon why the gift of propheſying in the above-mentioned apoſtolical ſenſe, is not now more diffuſed among Chriſtians, or why ſuch is not now experienced to be the ordinary operation of the Holy Spirit, is carnality and ſpiritual idleneſs; the promiſe of Chriſt to his diſciples, that he would be with them "always even to the end of the world" and that "where two or three were gathered in his name, he would be in the midſt of them," being not confined to the days of the apoſtles, but graciouſly experienced at this day to be fulfilled; even that he is preſent with them who gather in his name; not as an unactive, dormant principle, but powerful ſpirit, enlightening their underſtandings, warming their hearts, furniſhing them with diverſities of gifts, and giving to one the 'Word of wiſdom; to another faith; to one a doctrine; to another a revelation; to another a pſalm,' &c. 1 Cor. xii. and xiv. to the glory of God and edification of the church, which aſſuredly now as in the primitive times, edifieth itſelf in love; Eph. iv. 16. that fruit of the Spirit, that greateſt of all Chriſtian graces, that love of Chriſt, which poſſeſſing the heart of Peter, the conſequence was to be the feeding his ſheep. John xxi. 16.

And indeed this love of God and the brethren (though ſupplanted by the love of this world in a human, carnal, and apoſtatized miniſtry, who have made a trade of the goſpel, and followed Jeſus for the loaves and fiſhes) is all the encouragement and ſupport ſuch a miniſtry wants: and as love begets love, whatever outward ſupport may be needful, will be adminiſtered freely and voluntarily according to the primitive pattern; Luke x. and though ſuch a miniſtry may not enjoy great riches or revenues, yet as theſe are provocations to luxury, and many other evils, this will be no loſs to them as ſpiritual men, but on the contrary, leſs temptation being adminiſtered, in reſpect to the cares and pleaſures of this life, they will be enabled to apply themſelves to the concerns of the other with leſs diſtraction, and ſhine as living examples of piety among the people; whereas on the contrary great riches ſettled on the miniſtry have ever proved incentives to that pride, covetouſneſs, and luxury, which has been their diſgrace and ruin: agreeable to the obſervation of the difference of the ancient from the modern times in this reſpect, viz. that wooden chalices were attended by golden prieſts, but golden chalices by wooden prieſts.

Having now ſhewn that propheſying or preaching in the Chriſtian church, both was and is a gift of the Holy Spirit, I am led to conſider more minutely the practice of that and other acts of devotion among the profeſſed reformers, as falling ſhort of the primitive precepts and example: and firſt as to preaching.

The apoſtle expreſsly teſtifieth "that his ſpeech and preaching was not with enticing words of man's wiſdom, but in demonſtration of the ſpirit and of power, that their faith ſhould not ſtand in the wiſdom of men, but in the power of God:" 1 Cor. ii. 4, 5. and that the knowledge of the things ſpiritual whereof they ſpoke, was not attained unto by natural wiſdom, but by the revelation of the ſpirit, and by the ſpiritual man only, is the plain tenor of the context.

But the modern preaching is with enticing words of man's wiſdom; and the knowledge of the things whereof the moderns ſpeak is acquired by ſtudy like any other ſcience, and by the mere natural man.

Next, as to praying and ſinging, the ſame apoſtle ſaith, "I will pray with the ſpirit—and I will ſing with the ſpirit"—1 Co. vix. 15. Eph. vi. 18. and Jude xx. and elſewhere praying in the ſpirit, and in the Holy Ghoſt is recommended; and the neceſſity of the aſſiſtance of the Spirit, as well as the impotence of man without it is expreſſed in theſe words, "the Spirit alſo helpeth our infirmities: for we know not what to pray for as we ought, but the Spirit itſelf maketh interceſſion for us with groanings that cannot be uttered." Rom. viii. 26.

Now what is complained of in the exerciſe of preaching, praying, and ſinging, among many of the profeſſed reformers, is their neglect of this aſſiſtance, and of that due preparation of heart which is neceſſary to the performance of theſe duties, ſo as to render them acceptable to God or profitable to themſelves.

We ſee no want of ſermons, prayers, or ſongs, all made ready to be uttered at a certain hour appointed; but whether theſe be a mere lip-labour, or mechanical effuſion of ſounds; whether the preacher act the vain orator, preaching himſelf rather than Chriſt Jeſus, whether he affect more to tickle the ears than mend the hearts of his hearers (who alſo love to have it ſo according to the prophecy, "heaping unto themſelves teachers having itching ears") 2 Tim. iv. 3. whether they either preach, pray, or ſing, with the ſpirit, whether they really pray, or only ſay prayers, is very little conſidered.

It is, however, the want of this conſideration that is the true reaſon of the unfruitfulneſs of the modern prayings and preachings, that too frequently appears both among Papiſts and Proteſtants; and that their aſſiduity in obſerving the ſet hours and ſeaſons of prayer, &c. has little or no influence on their lives and converſations, but theſe remain for the moſt part as bad as ever. Men, finding it eaſier to ſacrifice in their own wills than obey God's will, have multiplied ſacrifices without obedience.

Now that in this caſe it would be both more acceptable to God and more profitable to men to learn ſilence; yea, what is more, that in the view of heaven the ſacrifices of ſuch are no other than an officious and even criminal activity, we may learn from the following expreſs declarations of God's will in the holy records, viz. "Unto the wicked God ſaith, what haſt thou to do to declare my ſtatutes, or that thou ſhouldſt take my covenant into thy mouth, ſeeing thou hateſt inſtruction and caſteſt my words behind thee?" Pſalm l. 16, 17. And again,

"Reſtore me unto the joy of thy ſalvation, and uphold me with thy free ſpirit: then will I teach tranſgreſſors thy ways, and ſinners ſhall be converted unto thee." Pſalm li. 12. 13. Again,

"Thou deſireſt not ſacrifice, elſe I would give it; thou delighteſt not in burnt offering: the ſacrifices of God are a broken ſpirit: a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not deſpiſe." Pſalm li. 16. 17.

"The ſacrifice of the wicked is an abomination to the Lord, but the prayer of the upright is his delight." Prov. xv. 8.

"To what purpoſe is the multitudes of your ſacrifices unto me? ſaith the Lord. When you come to appear before me, who hath required this at your hands, to tread my courts? Bring no more vain oblations: incenſe is an abomination unto me; the new moons and ſabbaths, the calling of aſſemblies I cannot away with: it is iniquity, even the ſolemn meeting. Waſh ye, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes, ceaſe to do evil, learn to do well." Iſaiah i. 11, 12, 13. 16, 17.

To the ſame purpoſe is Iſaiah lxvi. 1, 2, 3, 4. from all which it is evident, that for wicked men to ruſh into the exerciſes of preaching and praying without previouſly witneſſing ſome degree of that power that changes and cleanſes the heart, is ſo far from being acceptable to God that it is criminal in his ſight; or in other terms that in this caſe ſilence is preferable to ſpeaking; and that contrition of ſpirit and trembling at the word of the Lord is far more acceptable than the moſt pompous ſhews of devotion: and if the Jews when in captivity in Babylon could no longer "ſing the ſong of the Lord, but choſe to ſit down and weep and hang their harps on the willows," Pſalm cxxxvii. ſurely the analogy will hold, that the like diſpoſition of mind is moſt ſuitable alſo to ſuch whoſe ſouls are under the captivity of ſin: and this is one caſe wherein ſilence is better than ſpeaking: there is yet another, viz.

Men whom we call good, in this ſtate of probation and purgation, do ſometimes, without conſciouſneſs of any crime, experience withdrawings of that power and ſpirit which at other times animates their ſouls: they are left barren and impotent, and it ſeems very conſiſtent with Divine wiſdom and goodneſs that it ſhould be ſo, viz. in order that, being humbled under a ſenſe of their own weakneſs, they might depend on and ſeek after God, a way of ſpeaking (though much out of faſhion among many modern Chriſtians, yet very frequent in the holy writings.) In the 104th Pſalm we have a beautiful deſcription of God's power and providence over the animals even of an inferior order, of which if it be juſtly ſaid in that addreſs to Almighty God, "Theſe all wait on thee that thou mayſt give them their meat in due ſeaſon: thou openeſt thine hand, and they are filled with good: thou ſendeſt forth thy ſpirit, they are created and thou reneweſt the face of the earth:" and on the other hand, "Thou hideſt thy face and they are troubled," they muſt have a very contracted idea of the Divine providence and goodneſs who could ſuppoſe that it does not at leaſt equally operate in the world of ſpirits and rational ſouls of men, as among thoſe creatures of an inferior order: and the latter part of the text ſeems alſo not leſs applicable to the ſtate of the ſouls of men in times of languor, impotence, and deſertion, according to theſe ſayings of the Pſalmiſt, "Thou didſt hide thy face and I was troubled: and O forſake me not utterly." Pſalm xxx. 7. and cxix. 8.

Now it is expreſsly promiſed that "They who wait on the Lord ſhall renew their ſtrength," Iſaiah xl. 31. xli. 1. and in the following verſe ſilence is enjoined for this purpoſe: and Pſalm xlvi. 10. it is ſaid "Be ſtill and know that I am God."

The amuſements of ſenſible objects, the diſtracting cares of this life, and the activity of our own imaginations, are undoubtedly great impediments to the operation of the Divine Spirit in our minds, and not unfrequently drown the voice of that eternal wiſdom, of which the wiſe man ſpeaks in the 8th of Proverbs, and pronounceth that man bleſſed who "heareth it, watching daily at its gates, and waiting at the poſts of its doors," which ſurely he is moſt likely to do who is in a ſtate of ſilence. Is it not therefore juſt matter of ſurpriſe, that waiting upon God in ſilence, in his worſhip, ſhould be treated with ſuch contempt as it hath even lately been among ſome profeſſing great advancements in religion?

This brings me to mention a third caſe, wherein ſilence may ſometimes be choſen preferably to ſpeaking, which I ſhall expreſs in the words of Barclay, in his 11th Propoſition concerning worſhip, viz.

'The meeting may be good and refreſhful, though from the ſitting down to the riſing up thereof, there hath not been a word as outwardly ſpoken; and yet the life may have been known to abound in each particular, and an inward growing up therein and thereby, yea ſo as words might have been ſpoken acceptably and from the life: yet there being no abſolute neceſſity laid upon any one ſo to do, all might have choſen rather ſilently and quietly to poſſeſs and enjoy the Lord in themſelves; which is very ſweet and comfortable to the ſoul, that hath thus learned to be gathered from all its own thoughts and workings, to feel the Lord to bring forth both the will and the deed, which many can declare by a bleſſed experience; though indeed it cannot but be hard for the natural man to receive and believe this doctrine; and therefore it muſt be rather by a ſenſible experience, and by coming to make a proof of it, than by arguments, that ſuch can be convinced of this thing; ſeeing it is not enough to believe it, if they come not alſo to enjoy and poſſeſs it.' So far Barclay, who moreover obſerves that this worſhip of God in ſilence, though very different from the divers eſtabliſhed invented worſhips among Chriſtians, and ſuch as may ſeem ſtrange to many, yet hath it been teſtified of and practiſed by the moſt pious of all ſorts in all ages, even among ſome of thoſe that were otherwiſe overclouded with the darkneſs of popery, and particularly by the myſtical writers, a ſect generally eſteemed by all, and ſo called from their profeſſing and practiſing thereof, whoſe books are full of the explanation and commendation of this ſort of worſhip, where they plentifully aſſert the inward introverſion and abſtraction of the mind, as they call it, from all images and thoughts, and the prayer of the will; yea they look upon this as the heighth of Chriſtian * perfection.

To the above inſtance let me add an account of a certain people, called a ſect prevailing very much among the Proteſtants of Germany and thoſe of Switzerland, who call themſelves Pietiſts, which has been left us by a very learned writer in his travels to Italy,† of whom though he be no admirer, nor indeed recommends their practice as an example worthy to be followed, yet as his naked narration of matter of fact ſeems well worthy of notice, and to be pertinent to my preſent purpoſe of ſhewing that not only the deſpiſed people called Quakers, but many others, of different ages and countries, have alſo both recommended and practiſed this worſhip of Almighty God in ſilence, I ſhall here ſubjoin it, viz.

'They pretend to great refinements, as to what regards the practice of Chriſtianity, and to obſerve the following rules: to retire much from the converſation of the world: to ſink themſelves into an entire repoſe and tranquillity of mind. In this ſtate of ſilence to attend the ſecret illapſe and flowings in of the Holy Spirit, that may fill their minds with peace

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* See Barclay's Apology, Prop. 11. Sect. 16.

† Addiſon

and conſolation, joys, or raptures: to favour all his ſecret intimations, and give themſelves up entirely to his conduct and direction, ſo as neither to ſpeak, move or act, but as they find his impulſe on their ſouls: to retrench themſelves within the conveniencies and neceſſities of life—to avoid as much as poſſible what the world calls innocent pleaſures, leſt they ſhould have their affections tainted by any ſenſuality, and diverted from the love of him who is to be the only comfort, repoſe, and delight, of their whole beings.'

I ſhall conclude my recommendation of ſilent worſhip, by giving one particular example more of it, (in another country alſo) and of its good effects, viz.

The lady Guion in France, a great promoter of piety and virtue, and who was inſtrumental to the converſion of multitudes of the inferior ſort of people, and ſome others in the ſouthern parts of France, to a more religious and Chriſtian-like way of living, and who in her writings taught and recommended, above all things, the knowledge of pure and divine love (whoſe doctrine the famous archbiſhop of Cambray defended, and was thereupon exiled); I ſay, this lady being permitted to inſtruct the young women of the houſe or college of St. Cyr, in the ways of piety, inſtead of repeating a number of prayers by rote, as they had been taught, put them upon ſilent prayer and inward recollection of mind and thought, by which they might ſee their own conditions, and what they ſtood in need of, in order to make them acceptable to God; and indeed, the good effects of this practice appeared in a ſignal manner, in ſetting them at liberty from the captivity of their darling luſts; for whereas ſome of theſe had been working the ruin of their families by their gaming, and the expenſiveneſs of their apparel, theſe now having their hearts directed to the love of more amiable objects, were brought off from the inordinate love of themſelves and decking their bodies, and from affectations of new faſhions and modes of dreſs; and from miſpending their time at cards, dice, and other diverſions too common among perſons of high rank and quality.'*

So much may ſuffice concerning the worſhip of Almighty God: it ſeems next to be of no ſmall importance, to conſider the exerciſe of Chriſtian diſcipline in the church, or rather the relaxation or loſs thereof, among the men of the eſtabliſhment, as another eſſential defect in the reformation.

With reſpect to the celebration of marriage, I have already hinted how much the rights of parents are daily violated, and the peace and religious economy of families deſtroyed; and with regard to the morals of both clergy and laity, is there not an almoſt univerſal neglect? What diſcipline, for inſtance, is exerciſed in the church on fraudulent dealers, and bankrupts, drunkards, whoremongers, ſwearers, and litigious perſons? Are not ſuch often entertained in the body of the church without either expulſion or admonition?

But what need I dwell on this matter? The church of England in her liturgy expreſsly acknowledgeth this loſs of Chriſtian diſcipline, but contents herſelf with wiſhing for its reſtoration; and in the meantime pronouncing the comminations, on the day called Aſh-Wedneſday, without a direct application to the offending individuals: which how well it quadrates with the apoſtolical precept in 1 Cor. v. on ſuch occaſions, as well as Chriſtian zeal and prudence, I offer to their conſideration; and haſten to the mention of two more inſtances of a deficiency in the reformation, and thoſe are fighting and ſwearing among profeſſed Chriſtians, and which I am apt to think few will diſpute with me, but that they ſhall ceaſe when the prophecy, that the "kingdoms of this world ſhall become the kingdoms of the Lord and his Chriſt," Rev. xi. 15. ſhall become accompliſhed.

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* Apologetic Preface to Archbiſhop of Cambray's Diſſertation on pure Love.

In the mean-time, 'it will ſcarcely be denied that becauſe of oaths the land mourns; nor that* it is a ſhameful thing and very diſhonourable to the Chriſtian religion, that thoſe, who pretend themſelves to be the true followers of Chriſt, ſhould ſo degenerate from his doctrine and example, as to want and uſe ſcaring aſſeverations (not known even to ancient Jews and heathens) to aſcertain one another of their faith and truth, that religion muſt have ſuffered a great ebb, and Chriſtianity a fearful eclipſe, ſince thoſe brighter ages of its profeſſion; for biſhop Gauden in his treatiſe of oaths confeſſes that the ancient Chriſtians were ſo ſtrict and exact, that there was no need of an oath among them; and ſurely, the prohibition of Chriſt in the 5th of Matthew, comprehends not only thoſe called profane oaths, but others; and when it is added, whatſoever is more than yea, yea, and nay, nay, cometh of evil, this is applicable alſo to aſſeverations made before the magiſtrate; for diſtruſt and diſſimulation are the grounds of going beyond a ſimple affirmation or negation in both caſes.' Noble therefore and conſiſtent both with this and the ſpirit of the ancient Chriſtians ſeems to have been the following teſtimony of the people called Quakers,* viz.

'God hath taught us to ſpeak truth as readily without an oath as with an oath, ſo that for us to ſwear were to take God's holy name in vain.'

And that ſeveral of the ancient fathers did hold all taking of an oath unlawful, is acknowledged by Cave in his Primitive Chriſtianity—Polycarp particularly refuſed to ſwear becauſe he was a Chriſtian: and we are aſſured, as a thing well known, that 'the ancient fathers of the firſt three hundred years after Chriſt, underſtood the words of Chriſt to be a prohibition* of all ſorts of oaths.' And one of the popes of the fifth or ſixth century, is ſaid to have been the firſt author of the inſtitution of ſwearing by the goſpel, ſo that the preſent eſtabliſhment of oaths, among Chriſtians, ſhould ſeem to deſerve a place among other innovations and corruptions of popery.

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* Treatiſe of Oaths publiſhed in behalf of the people called Quakers; A. D. 1675.

Next, as to fighting; there are two expreſs propheſies, viz. of the ſame event, uttered in the ſame words by two different prophets, the completion of which we are ſurely to expect in theſe goſpel times, viz.

"Nation ſhall not lift up ſword againſt nation, neither ſhall they learn war any more:' Iſa. ii. 4. and Micah iv. 3. Which propheſies the ancient fathers of the firſt three hundred years after Chriſt did affirm to be fulfilled in the Chriſtians of their times who were moſt averſe from war. Agreeable to this are the words of the Chriſtians in Juſtin Martyr, viz. 'We fight not with our enemies,' and the anſwer of Martin to Julian the apoſtate related by Sulpicius Severus, 'I am a ſoldier of Chriſt, therefore I cannot fight,' which was three hundred years after Chriſt.† And as the true cauſes of wars and fightings according to the apoſtle, (James iv. 1.) are the luſts of men, an obvious conſequence is, that when theſe ſhall be ſubdued and mortified, wars, their effect, ſhall ceaſe.

It ſeems to be ſtrongly hinted, even in the Old Teſtament, that there is ſomething of a defiling nature in the ſpilling of human blood; for this is alleged under Divine ſanction, as a reaſon why David was a perſon unfit to build the houſe of the Lord; for we read that the word of the Lord came to David, ſaying, "Thou ſhalt not build an houſe unto my name, becauſe thou haſt ſhed much blood upon the earth in my ſight." 1 Chron. xxii. 8.

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* Barclay's Apology, Prop. 15.

† Ibid.

The ſame ſentiment, concerning ſpilling of blood, ſeems alſo to have been entertained even among the heathens; for whereas divers of the fathers held fighting unlawful to Chriſtians, particularly Juſtin Martyr, Tertullian and Origen; the laſt of theſe in his anſwer to Celſus upon this ſubject, ſpeaks thus, 'Your own prieſts and thoſe who belong to your temples, keep their hands from being defiled with blood, by reaſon of the ſacrifices they muſt offer, with unbloody and unpolluted hands, to thoſe you eſteem your gods; and when ye go to war, ye never take of the prieſtly order for ſoldiers.'

If then ye heathens ſaw thus far, ſurely we by the help of goſpel-light ſhould ſee farther: for my part I do not ſee how the method of determining controverſies by fighting is reconcileable to reaſon; for ſurely the righteous cauſe is not always a neceſſary concomitant of the longeſt ſword; and much leſs do I ſee how the reparation of injuries received is, by this method, reconcileable to the following ſublime precepts, recommended to the practice of all Chriſtians, viz. 'See that none render evil for evil to any man, and overcome evil with good, and love your enemies, bleſs them that curſe you, &c. that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven.' 1 Theſſ. v. 15. Rom. xii. 21. Mat. v. 44, 45.

From all which I conclude, that wars and fightings are an effect of the corruption of mankind, another ſtrong inſtance of the deficiency of the reformation, and ſhall entirely ceaſe among Chriſtians, when they ſhall arrive at that ſtandard of purity and perfection which is preſcribed to them in the goſpel.

I have now but one thing more to take notice of, before I conclude this my introduction to the Hiſtory of the People called Quakers, and that is the diſpoſition of the age at that juncture of time, when this people made their firſt appearance in the world, as being one conſiderable co-operating means of making way for the reception of their doctrines.

'The true church,' in the words* of William Penn, having fled into the wilderneſs, did at length make many attempts to return, but the waters had yet been too high and her way blocked up, and the laſt age did make conſiderable advances to a reformation both as to doctrine, worſhip, and practice. But practice quickly failed, for in a little time wickedneſs flowed in as well among the reformers as thoſe they reformed from, ſo that by the fruits of converſation they were not to be diſtinguiſhed. And the children of the reformers, if not the reformers themſelves, betook themſelves very early to earthly policy and power to uphold and carry on their reformation that had begun by ſpiritual weapons, which ſeems to have been one of the greateſt reaſons why the reformation made no better progreſs, as to the life and ſoul of religion. For whilſt the reformers were lowly and ſpiritually minded, and truſted in God, and looked to him, and lived in his fear, and conſulted not with fleſh and blood, nor ſought deliverance in their own way, there were daily added to the church ſuch as one might reaſonably ſay ſhould be ſaved: for they were not ſo careful to be ſafe from perſecution, as to be faithful and inoffenſive under it, being more concerned to ſpread the Truth by their faith and patience in tribulation, than to get the worldly power out of their hands that inflicted thoſe ſufferings upon them.

'Thoſe before mentioned, owned the ſpirit, inſpiration and revelation indeed, and grounded their ſeparation and reformation upon the ſenſe and underſtanding they received from it in reading the Scriptures. But yet there was too much of human invention, tradition and art that remained both in praying and preaching, and of worldly authority and worldly greatneſs in their miniſters.—They were more ſtrict in preaching, devout in praying, and zealous for keeping the Lord's day, and catechizing of children and ſervants, and repeating at home in their families what they had heard in public. But even as theſe grew into power, they were not only for whipping ſome out, but others into the temple: and they appeared rigid in their ſpirits, rather than ſevere in their lives, and more for a party than for piety: which brought forth another people, that were yet more retired and ſelect.

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* Riſe and Progreſs of the People called Quakers.

'They would not communicate at large, or in common with others; but formed churches among themſelves of ſuch as could give ſome account of their converſion; at leaſt, of very promiſing experiences of the work of God's grace upon their hearts; and under mutual agreements and covenants of fellowſhip, they kept together. Theſe people were ſomewhat of a ſofter temper, and ſeemed to recommend religion by the charms of its love, mercy, and goodneſs, rather than by the terrors of its judgments and puniſhment; by which the former party would have awed people into religion.

'They alſo allowed greater liberty to prophecy than thoſe before them; for they admitted any member to ſpeak or pray, as well as their paſtor, whom they always choſe, and not the civil magiſtrate. If ſuch found any thing preſſing upon them to either duty, even without the diſtinction of clergy or laity, perſons of any trade had their liberty, be it never ſo low and mechanical. But alas! even theſe people ſuffered great loſs: for taſting of worldly empire, and the favour of princes, and the gain that enſued, they degenerated but too much. For though they had cried down national churches and miniſtry, and maintenance too; some of them, when it was their own turn to be tried, fell under the weight of worldly honour and advantage, got into profitable parſonages too much, and outlived and contradicted their own principles: and, which was yet worſe, turned, ſome of them, abſolute perſecutors of other men for God's ſake, that but ſo lately came themſelves out of the furnace: which drove many a ſtep farther, and that was into the water; another baptiſm, as believing they were not ſcripturally baptized; and hoping to find that preſence and power of God in ſubmitting to this watery ordinance, which they deſired and wanted.

'These people made alſo profeſſion of neglecting, if not renouncing and cenſuring, not only the neceſſity but uſe of all human learning as to the miniſtry; and all other qualifications to it, beſides the helps and gifts of the Spirit of God, and thoſe natural and common to men. And for a time they ſeemed like John of old, a burning and a ſhining light to other ſocieties.

'They were very diligent, plain, and ſerious; ſtrong in Scripture, and bold in profeſſion; bearing much reproach and contradiction. But that which others fell by, proved their ſnare. For worldly power ſpoiled them too; who had enough of it to try them what they would do if they had more: and they reſted alſo too much upon their watery diſpenſation, inſtead of paſſing on more fully to that of the fire and Holy Ghoſt, which was his baptiſm, who came with a fan in his hand, that he might throughly (and not in part only) purge his floor, and take away the droſs and the tin of his people, and make a man finer than gold. Withal, they grew high, rough, and ſelf-righteous; oppoſing further attainment: too much forgetting the day of their infancy and littleneſs, which gave them ſomething of a real beauty; inſomuch that many left them and all viſible churches and ſocieties, and wandered up and down, as ſheep without a ſhepherd, and as doves without their mates; ſeeking their beloved, but could not find him (as their ſouls deſired to know him) whom their ſoul loved above their chiefeſt joy.

‘ Theſe people were called Seekers by ſome, and the Family of Love by others: becauſe, as they came to the knowledge of one another, they ſometimes met together, not formally, to pray or preach at appointed times or places, in their own wills, as in times paſt they were accuſtomed to do; but waited together in ſilence, and as any thing roſe, in any one of their minds, that they thought ſavoured of a Divine ſpring, they ſometimes ſpoke. But, ſo it was, that ſome of them not keeping in humility and in the fear of God, after the abundance of revelation, were exalted above meaſure; and for want of ſtaying their minds, in an humble dependance upon him that opened their underſtandings, to ſee great things in his law, they ran out in their own imaginations, and mixing them with thoſe Divine openings, brought forth a monſtrous birth, to the ſcandal of thoſe that feared God, and waited daily in the temple, not made with hands, for the conſolation of Iſrael, the Jew inward, and circumciſion in Spirit.’

Thus it appears that the fields were now ripe unto the harveſt; and as the ſame author proceeds, ‘ It was about that very time, as you may ſee in the annals of George Fox, that the eternal, wiſe, and good God was pleaſed, in his infinite love to honour and viſit this benighted and bewildered nation with his glorious day-ſpring from on high; yea with a moſt ſure and certain ſound of the word of light and life, through the teſtimony of a choſen veſſel,* to an effectual and bleſſed purpoſe, can many thouſands ſay, Glory be to the name of the Lord for ever.

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* *i.e.* George Fox, whoſe character is thus given us by William Penn and Thomas Ellwood, from an intimate acquaintance and converſation with him, viz. ‘ He was the firſt and chief elder in this age; a man though not of elegant ſpeech or learned after the way of this world, yet endued with a wonderful depth in Divine knowledge; and although his expreſſions might ſeem uncouth and unfaſhionable to nice ears, his matter was nevertheleſs very profound; and as abruptly and brokenly as ſometimes his ſentences about Divine things would ſeem to fall from him, it is well known they

'For as it reached the conſcience, and broke the heart, and brought many to a ſenſe and ſearch, ſo that which people had been vainly ſeeking without, with much pains and coſt, they by this miniſtry, found within, where it was they wanted what they ſought for, viz. the right way to peace with God. For they were directed to the light of Jeſus Chriſt within them, as the ſeed and leaven of the kingdom of God; near all, becauſe in all, and God's talent to all: a faithful and true witneſs, and juſt monitor in every boſom: the gift and grace of God to life and ſalvation, that appears to all, though few regard it.

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were as texts to many fairer declarations: and indeed this ſhewed that God ſent him, that no art or parts had any ſhare in the matter or manner of his miniſtry, and that ſo many great and excellent truths, as he came forth to preach to mankind, had nothing of man's wit or wiſdom to recommend them; nor were theſe truths notional or ſpeculative, but ſenſible and practical, tending to converſion and regeneration, and the ſetting up the kingdom of God in the hearts of men.

He was a diſcerner of other men's ſpirits, and very much a maſter of his own: he had an extraordinary gift in opening the Scriptures; but above all, he excelled in prayer: the inwardneſs and weight of his ſpirit, the reverence and ſolemnity of his addreſs and behaviour, and the fewneſs and fullneſs of his words have often ſtruck even ſtrangers with admiration, as they uſed to reach others with conſolation.

He was an inceſſant labourer both in doctrine and in diſcipline, the care of the churches being much upon him; and as he was unwearied, ſo he was undaunted in his ſervices for God and his people, being no more to be moved to fear than to wrath.

He ſuffered abundantly, not only from ſtrangers, but from ſome of the ſame profeſſion, and (which was not the leaſt part of his honour) he was the common butt of the envy of all apoſtates, whoſe good notwithſtanding he earneſtly ſought.

He held his place in the church of God with great meekneſs and a moſt engaging humility and moderation, being on all occaſions (like his bleſſed Maſter,) a ſervant to all, exerciſing no authority but over evil, and that every where and in all, but with love, compaſſion, and long ſuffering.

He was found in judgment, able and ready in giving, diſcreet in keeping, counſel: of an innocent life, no buſy body, nor ſelf-ſeeker, not touchy nor critical; very tender and compaſſionate to all under affliction; a moſt merciful man, as ready to forgive as unapt to take or give offence; very civil, beyond all forms of breeding, in his behaviour; very temperate, eating little, and ſleeping leſs.

Thus he lived and ſojourned among us, and as he lived, ſo he died; and in his laſt moments was ſo full of aſſurance that he triumphed over death.[*]

[*] See Penn's Riſe and Progreſs, &c. and Ellwood's Teſtimony of George Fox prefixed to his Journal.

This, the traditional Chriſtian, conceited of himſelf, and ſtrong in his own will and righteouſneſs, and overcome with blind zeal and paſſion, either deſpiſed as a low and common thing, or oppoſed as a novelty, under many hard names, and opprobrious terms; denying in his ignorant and angry mind, any freſh manifeſtation of God's power and ſpirit in man, in theſe days, though never more needed to make true Chriſtians: not unlike thoſe Jews of old, that rejected the Son of God, at the very ſame time that they blindly profeſſed to wait for the Meſſiah to come; becauſe, alas, he appeared not among them according to their carnal mind and expectation.'

And as it was one great and principal diſtinguiſhing buſineſs of the people called Quakers (at a time of ſuch high profeſſion as that was, when they made their firſt appearance in the world) to call men off from an acquieſcence in the mere hiſtory and letter of the Scripture, without experiencing the ſpirit and myſtery thereof; or in other terms, to ſhake hypocritical profeſſors, in their vain confidence in the mere belief of what Chriſt did without them in reſpect to his life, doctrines, miracles, and ſufferings (matters of faith, undoubtedly of great importance, and neceſſary to be aſſented to, and moſt gratefully acknowledged, but without a further work ſo far from being effectual to ſalvation, that doubtleſs the revelation of theſe truths will aggravate the condemnation of the impenitent), and to awaken their attention to the inward appearance of the ſame Chriſt in their own hearts; to republiſh to the world faith in Chriſt, not only as ſitting in power and great glory at the right hand of the Majeſty in heaven, according to the teſtimony of holy writ, but alſo as the light of the world according to the ſame teſtimony, and that men "ſhould believe in the light that they might be the children of the light," John xii. 36. according to the precept of Chriſt; and that there is a divine efficacy in this light to make men ſons of God, according to the firſt chapter of John the Evangeliſt: now I ſay, as this was the diſtinguiſhing teſtimony of the people called Quakers, ſo there are not wholly wanting among ſome of the writers of thoſe times inſtances of a concurrence herewith. It ſhall ſuffice for this purpoſe to tranſcribe, a ſingle inſtance, being a ſhort extract from two ſermons preached at Allhallows in Lombard-ſtreet in the year 1654, by John Webſter, viz.

'It is not holding forth the higheſt profeſſion of Chriſt, in the letter, that makes us free, except Chriſt come into the heart and make us free indeed. The chief thing that every ſoul is to mind, in reading and hearing, is to examine whether the ſame thing be wrought in them. Whatever we find in the letter, if it be not made good in us what are the words to us? We muſt ſee how Chriſt is crucified and buried in us, and how he is riſen and raiſed from death in us; the chief thing I ſay is to look into our own breaſts. All generally that hold forth a profeſſion of Chriſt, they ſay in words, that Chriſt is the deliverer, but that is not the thing; is he a deliverer to thee? is that glorious Meſſiah promiſed and the deliverer with power, come into thy ſoul? hath he exalted himſelf there? hath he made bare his arm and been a glorious conqueror in thee? hath he taken to himſelf his great power to reign in thee? is he King of kings and Lord of lords in thee? Whatever thou talkeſt of Chriſt and his miracles, if thou haſt no witneſs, no evidence of the truth of them in thine own heart, what is all that ever he did, and what is all that ever he ſuffered to thee? It may be thou mayeſt have a notion and opinion of the things of God, and thou haſt them by hiſtory and by relation, or education, or example, or cuſtom, or by tradition, or becauſe moſt men have received them for truths: but if thou haſt no evidence of his mighty miracles and God-like power in thy own ſoul, how canſt thou be a witneſs that they are the things that thou haſt ſeen and heard? for all thoſe outward things are but ſhadows and repreſentations, figures and patterns of the heavenly things themſelves. Thou mayeſt have a ſtrong opinion, but no experience of them, viz. that Chriſt hath freed and delivered thy ſoul.—Haſt thou really ſeen thyſelf in captivity, deaf, dumb, blind, and lame? Oh that men were but come to this condition, to be ſenſible of their miſery! Oh then what mourning, what hanging of their harps upon the willows, and ſitting by the rivers of Babylon, and crying out, how ſhall we ſing the Lord's ſong in a ſtrange land? Till they have deliverance they cannot but mourn, and who can deliver them, but the Lion of the tribe of Judah? To ſuch a ſoul only Chriſt is precious: others may talk of him and make a great profeſſion of him, but they cannot love him till he be Immanuel and Saviour in them. Forms and ordinances cannot be the reſt of a Chriſtian, becauſe they may be uſed and lived in, and admired and prized, whilſt thoſe that uſe them may be carried away with divers luſts. Thus may not one be dipt and receive water-baptiſm and yet be a ſorcerer? Was not Simon Magus ſo? May not one be at breaking of bread with Chriſt, and yet be a devil? Yes, for ſo was Judas.' So far Webſter.

ADVERTISEMENT.

I. THE Reader is deſired to excuſe the diverſity of ſtyle that occurs in different parts of this work; for which it is hoped the following reaſons will ſufficiently apologize 1ſt. The foregoing part of the Hiſtory to the year 1700, having been compiled for the moſt part by the perſon mentioned in the title-page, it was deemed moſt expedient to publiſh it in his own words; and 2dly, in order that the genuine ſenſe of the authors, of divers narrations and epiſtles, might be faithfully conveyed to poſterity, their own words are alſo retained in their native ſimplicity.

II. Order of time, with reſpect to the accounts of the convincement and ſervices of many eminent miniſters and elders, hath not been always obſerved, becauſe of the compiler's deſign to place theſe things together in one view, with the teſtimonies, or characters given of them at their deceaſe, where this could be conveniently done.

III. It is but doing juſtice to many other worthy miniſters and elders, of whom nothing in particular is related in the following Hiſtory, to acknowledge that their memoirs are as honourable as thoſe of whom particular accounts have been given, and their ſervices oftentimes were as great, although partly through the great modeſty of the perſons concerned, and partly through the neglect of others, no record was preſerved of them.

THE

RISE AND PROGRESS

OF THE PEOPLE CALLED

QUAKERS,

IN

IRELAND.

CHAPTER I.

From the firſt appearance of this People in Ireland, to the ſettlement of church-diſcipline among them in the year 1669; *wherein is given an account of the firſt miniſtring Friends who viſited Ireland, and their labours in the goſpel; (and particularly of William Edmundſon); of the ſufferings and hardſhips they underwent; the effects of their labours in the convincement of many; and the firſt ſettlement of particular meetings, and of provincial, monthly and national meetings.*

IT ſeemed good to a half year's meeting aſſembled in Dublin, in the Third month 1700, that a faithful narrative ſhould be preſerved and tranſmitted to future generations, of what great things the Lord had done for a people within the compaſs of forty-five years then paſt, and not out of the memory of ſome elders then living. Accordingly ſuch a narrative was by their advice compiled, being collected from divers authentick papers and certificates, from whence the following account was drawn by Thomas Wight, of

Cork, a worthy elder, whoſe character is given in due courſe of time in the following hiſtory.

It is true, William Sewel did, in the year 1722, publiſh a general hiſtory of this people, who (in his own words) ‘ began to take heed to a divine conviction in the conſcience, and preached unto others the doctrine of an inward light wherewith Chriſt had enlightened man, and in the latter end of the time of king Charles I. began to increaſe in number, and became a ſeparate ſociety among men, diſtinguiſhed by the ſcornful appellation of Quakers,’ for an account of whoſe particular doctrines the reader is referred to Barclay's Apology.

The preſent undertaking may therefore perhaps be prejudged by ſome as ſuperfluous: nevertheleſs, as divers occurrences have happened peculiar to Ireland, both before the year 1700 when the aforeſaid Thomas Wight finiſhed his account, and through a ſeries of years to the preſent time, and ſuch as ſeemed worthy of obſervation as matters of inſtruction and edification, the collections of Thomas Wight have been reviſed and improved by ſome important additions, particularly of ſeveral epiſtles, teſtimonies, or characters, of divers eminent miniſters and elders, together with a minute and faithful account of their ſpiritual experiences, and of the various ſteps which the divine wiſdom led them through, in their purſuit of everlaſting happineſs, taken from their own writings, and ſome other matters of fact, tending to give unto thoſe of the preſent age a true idea of the ſpirit and diſpoſition of their predeceſſors, and of the preſent ſpiritual ſituation of the ſociety, with which view the hiſtory is continued down to the preſent time: and moreover, as neither Sewel nor any author I am acquainted with, hath, as yet, given ſuch a minute and circumſtantial account of the Chriſtian diſcipline exerciſed among this people as either the ſubject, or its importance and uſefulneſs ſeem to demand.

William Edmundſon, born at Little Muſgrove in Weſtmoreland, in the year 1627, having received Truth in the love of it, and obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful, was made inſtrumental for gathering and convincing ſome (by declaring what God had done for his ſoul) before any other miniſtring friends came out of England in the meſſage of the goſpel, of whom as alſo of his own inward exerciſes, trials and ſufferings, he kept an account in writing, which we ſhall therefore in the firſt place ſubjoin with his own words, viz.

'It pleaſed the Lord in my youthful days to bring me often to a conſideration of my ſoul's happineſs, and when I was in the army in Scotland under Oliver Cromwell, matters relating to my ſalvation came more cloſe upon me; for the Lord was viſiting me, and ſtriving with me both in judgments and mercies. In the year 1651, I came out of Scotland into England, and being in Derbyſhire where the name of a people called Quakers was much talked of, and one George Fox to be the ring leader of them; various reports went abroad concerning them, ſome for good, and many for evil; but my heart was drawn towards them for good.

'Now about this time I married and left the army, and was about to ſettle in Derbyſhire: in the interim my brother John Edmundſon being then a ſoldier in Ireland, came over into England to viſit his relations, and perſuaded me to go and live in Ireland: my wife being willing, we prepared for it, and taking with us one ſervant, ſome neceſſaries, and merchants' goods, we landed in Dublin, where I was ſtrongly importuned to ſettle; trading being then very briſk, and houſes upon eaſy terms, it being not long after the plague; but I was prevented by a ſecret hand that I did not then know, which preſerved me from the deceitfulneſs of riches; with which, if I had given way to this temptation, I had according to all probability, been laden as with thick clay, and thereby been hindered from the Lord's ſervice, as ſome others are.

'So from Dublin we went into the North, and took a houſe in Antrim, and my brother lived with us, for the troop he belonged to, quartered in and about that place: I ſoon ſold off my goods and went for England to buy more; and going into the North, underſtanding George Fox and James Naylor (of whom I had heard) were come into thoſe parts, I was glad of that opportunity, and went to a place where was James Naylor, who ſpoke of the things of God's kingdom, and work of regeneration; and though his words were not many, they were powerful, and reached God's witneſs in me, that had long ſtrove with me, and my heart being then opened, as the Lord opened the heart of Lydia, I knew it to be the truth, and received it in the love of it; for I had longed after it, and was ready for the Lord's harveſt. Things appeared ſo plain, and concurred with ſo many Scriptures, which were brought to my remembrance, that I thought all that heard it declared, muſt needs confeſs it was the very truth. In a very few days the Lord's prayer mightily ſeized on me, and hedged up my former way, and I was under great exerciſe of ſpirit on many accounts; ſo when I had done my buſineſs in England, I intended by God's permiſſion again for Ireland, bound for Carrickfergus, or near it, and at ſea the Lord's hand was heavy on me, and great wreſtlings and conflicts of ſpirit I had; under which exerciſes I landed at Carrickfergus; it was ſomething late in the afternoon, yet I rode twelve miles to Antrim, where my wife and aforeſaid brother were. He meeting me at the door appeared with his uſual ſalutation, but the Lord's power ſo ſeized on me that I could not join in it, and I was broken into many tears. We went in, and ſat down, and I was mightily exerciſed under the ſenſe of the Lord's power, which begat in me a true godly ſorrow, but mixed with comfort in his tender mercies. My wife and brother ſat quiet, with no ſmall admiration at the change; (this was in the year 1653.) Now I came to the entry of my goods which was no ſmall exerciſe to get through, becauſe at the cuſtom-houſe an oath would be required, and when they required it of me, I told them I could not ſwear; for Chriſt had forbidden it. This was a ſtrange thing to them, not having met with the like before; my deportment, and ſpeech in uſing the words Thee and Thou to them, and not putting off my hat was very offenſive; but the Lord ſtrengthened me, and my mind was towards him, which enabled me to ſtand in the croſs, and deſpiſe the ſhame, and ſo according to my ſmall meaſure, I ſtood in my teſtimony for his truth, by which I got through that exerciſe, and received my goods and came home. By this time great diſcourſes were about the Quakers; and I was yet under great exerciſe of ſpirit, the Lord's hand being mighty upon me in his judgments, yet, as I ſaid before, mixed with his mercies, and my pain and trouble increaſed as a woman's in travail bringing forth her firſt-born; and in the night ſeaſon I wiſhed for morning, and when the morning came, my travail and hard labour ceaſed not, and then I wiſhed for night again, that my bed might give me eaſe; thus was I like one toſſed, and afflicted in this ſpiritual warfare, wherein I could find none that could ſpeak a word of comfort, that had trod in this ſtrait path. Many profeſſors came to jangle and contend, and ſpake evil of the way to truth, which added trouble to my wounded heart, and broken ſpirit, but it wrought for good, for it raiſed diſcourſes far and near what a people there was, and of their ways, manners, and behaviour; which ſettled ſo in the minds of ſober people, that it put them upon an inquiry into the principles and faith of them.

'Now was my name much talked of abroad, and one Miles Bousfield called a major, who had received ſome convincement in England by George Fox, came ſoon away upon it into Ireland, and being about that part of the country I lived in, and hearing of me, and the great exerciſe of conſcience I was in, came to ſee me, but it happened I was from home: he ſpoke much of religion, and the work of the inner man to my wife, and how glad he would be of my company, &c. When I came home, my wife informing me of him, and his diſcourſe, I was very glad; for I would have gone far to find an experienced friend that could have informed or helped me in my great ſtraits; for I ſaw my own poverty, and weakneſs, and the enemy as a ſtrong man armed making war within and without: ſo I rode to ſee major Bousfield twelve miles, and abode with him all night. He talked much of the work of God in man; ſpoke well of the way of truth, and of George Fox, and James Naylor, and exhorted me to be cheerful and merry, and not to be caſt down with thoſe troubles, for it was the enemy's work to drive me into deſpair; for I had the tokens of God's love, and he would love me to the end, and nothing in me could hinder his work, &c. I gave attention to his words, being low, and dejected in my ſpirit; his words anſwered me in that which pleaſed ſelf; for ſomething in me would have enjoyed the Lord without bearing his righteous judgments, or living in the daily croſs of Chriſt: and this I found major Bousfield was a ſtranger to, but made me eaſy over God's witneſs in my conſcience, and healed my hurt too faſt; for in a few days after I left him, it broke out again, the Lord's hand purſuing me, in whoſe light I ſaw and felt ſomething yet in me that withſtood the work of God, which muſt be ſlain and crucified by the Lord's judgments, and the daily croſs of Chriſt Jeſus. Then my wound was opened, and I ſaw there was no phyſician but the Lord alone, and I alſo ſaw where

Bousfield was, and all of that ſpirit; that they took up their reſt and ſatisfaction in a talk and notion of religion, without the true croſs of Chriſt, that ſhould mortify their luſts, wills, and vile affections, and crucify them to the world, and the world unto them, being at eaſe in a form of godlineſs without the real work of the power.' So far William Edmundſon.

In the beginning of the year 1654, Miles Halhead, James Lancaſter, and Miles Bateman, plain men, came out of England with a teſtimony for truth, on which account they had ſome ſervice with the chief rulers and officers of the army: they made little ſtay, but went into the North, and took ſhipping at Belfaſt for England again.

At that time William Edmundſon was removing his habitation from Antrim to Lurgan, and ſoon after his brother came and dwelt with him, and a meeting was kept at his houſe in Lurgan, which was the firſt ſettled meeting of the people called Quakers in Ireland. This meeting was but ſmall at firſt, but as their minds were kept inward, waiting in ſtillneſs upon God, they felt his preſence to comfort and ſtrengthen them in time of great ſorrow and weakneſs, and their number increaſed; for the name of Friends and fame of truth did ſpread, and divers ſober people that ſought after the knowledge of God joined with them, as William Soulden and his wife, John Hendryn, William Lynas, and ſeveral others: and the Lord was pleaſed to give William Edmundſon a part in the word and teſtimony of his kingdom and goſpel of ſalvation, which he laboured in according to his meaſure in much weakneſs and fear. He was moved to go to the publick worſhip-houſe belonging to Lurgan, to declare truth in the time of their worſhip, and was much beaten there by colonel Stewart; but his teſtimony reached the hearts of ſome, particularly Mark Wright and Mark Sawyer, who followed him out of the ſaid worſhip-houſe, and joined with friends.

The next friend that came out of England was John Tiffin, who came and ſat with the above-mentioned friends in their meeting, and did ſometimes ſpeak a few comfortable and edifying words among them: William Edmundſon and he travelled together to ſeveral places, and had good ſervice for truth, and diſcourſed and had diſputes with profeſſors, and many began to liſten to them and inquire into their faith and principles, and truth began to ſpread, though through great oppoſition; for now the prieſts and people began to be alarmed and in a rage, and Friends were expoſed to great ſufferings upon ſeveral obvious accounts; particularly, as the teſtimony of truth was againſt all hireling teachers, and their forced maintenance, theſe made it their buſineſs to incenſe the magiſtrates and rulers againſt Friends as holding damnable doctrines, led away with the deluſions of ſatan, &c. and their conſcientious ſcrupling to ſwear, in obedience to Chriſt's command, Swear not at all, was a ſtrange thing to the people, as was alſo the uſe of the plain and proper ſpeech of Thou and Thee to a ſingle perſon, and refuſing to take off their hats, as being a teſtimony of honour and reſpect due to Almighty God only; and few could ſuffer theſe things,* but frequently on theſe accounts treated them with abuſive words, and ſometimes with blows or throwing ſtones. The keeping to one price in ſelling of goods and to the firſt demand without abatement, was alſo a great ſtumbling-block to moſt, and made them decline dealing with them for ſome time, until they ſaw into the juſtice * thereof. But to return to John Tiffin.

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* ‘Theſe practices of theirs were not the reſult of humour, or of a framed deſign to declare or recommend ſchiſm or novelty, or to diſtinguiſh themſelves as a party from others: but God having given them a ſight of themſelves, they ſaw the whole world in the ſame glaſs of truth, and ſenſibly diſcerned the affections and paſſions of men, and the riſe and tendency of things.’ See Penn's Riſe and Progreſs of the People called Quakers. And in a Treatiſe of the ſame author entituled No CROSS No CROWN, theſe matters are diſcuſſed at large, and particularly the true honour excellently diſtinguiſhed from the vain and worldly.

He and William Edmundſon went to Belfaſt (a town of great profeſſion) where there was but one of all the inns and publick houſes that would lodge them; here John Tiffin lodged, and often endeavoured to get an entrance for truth in that town, but they reſiſted, ſhutting their ears, doors and hearts againſt the publiſhers thereof. † Near this town there dwelt one Laythes, who promiſed to let them have a meeting at his houſe, but through ſome ſlaviſh fear failed of his promiſe and diſappointed them; yet this did not hinder them, viz. John Tiffin, Wm. Edmundſon, &c. from holding a meeting in the open air; for there being a little way from the ſaid Laythes's houſe three lanes ends that met, they ſat down and kept their meeting there, and were a wonder to the people who came about them; and ſomething was ſpoken to direct their minds to God's Spirit in their own hearts. Theſe exerciſes, though in much weakneſs and fear, ſpread the name and fame of truth, and occaſioned many honeſt people to inquire after it, and ſome were added to the meeting at Lurgan. ‡ John Tiffin having ſpent five or ſix weeks with friends, returned for England.

Thus at the beginning, was the way ſtrait and difficult, but yet truth gained ground and prevailed, and the number of friends increaſed, and they had a godly care over their words and actions, that they might give no occaſion to the adverſaries of truth, who were many; but as friends kept low in the fear of the Lord, they were preſerved and God's witneſs in the people was reached; of which it may not be impertinent to mention one inſtance, viz. John Shaw

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* Edmundſon's Journal, Sect. 2. † Ibid. Sect. 3. ‡ Ibid.

of Broad-Oak near Liſnegarvy, (who with his family were convinced about this time) often ſaid that William Edmundſon's words and deportment were a means to convince him of the truth.

The next friend that came out of England in the miniſtry was Richard Clayton, who came to William Edmundſon's houſe, by the Lord's direction, as he ſaid; ſo he and William Edmundſon travelled together on foot in the Lord's ſervice (for then it was not eaſy for travellers to ride, or get lodging at inns, the people being prejudiced againſt friends by the inſtigations of the prieſts, throwing ſtones and dirt at them as they paſſed along.) They went through ſeveral towns and villages to Coleraine, and there publiſhed the truth in their ſtreets, and put a paper upon their worſhip-houſe door; for the inhabitants would not receive them, nor let them lodge in the town, but baniſhed them out of it, ſo they lodged at a cabin in the mountains, and next day they went to Londonderry, where one Evans hoſpitably received and entertained them. They had two meetings there, and he and his wife and two ſons and one daughter were convinced of the truth: the governor was at both meeings, and he and ſeveral others acknowledged the truth declared by them, ſhewing themſelves kind and affectionate. From thence they travelled to Strabane and Newtown-ſtewart, Omagh, Dungannon, and Charlemont, and to the houſe of Margery Atkinſon (near Killmore, where William Edmundſon had been once before), a widow and a worthy woman, who received the Truth with gladneſs, and lived and died in the Lord, and her memorial is bleſt. They had a meeting at her houſe upon the firſt day of the week, at which meeting Richard Clayton was very ſerviceable, and ſeveral tender people received the truth at that time in the love of it, as William Williamſon the elder, a faithful, godly man, and his ſon William Williamſon (a faithful, ſerviceable man to his dying day) and their wives and families: alſo John Williamſon, Matthew Horner and wife, and ſeveral others; and ſoon after, old William Brownlow, Francis Hobſon, Lawrence Hobſon and ſeveral others; and having ſettled a meeting there (which in time became large) they parted in the love of God, and ſoon after Richard Clayton went for England. Now the truth began more to ſpread, and its friends increaſed, and they had meetings in ſeveral places. Not long after this a meeting was ſettled at the Grange below Antrim, at the houſe of Gabriel Clark, an honeſt, religious, ancient man, who received truth, as alſo his wife and family. Another meeting was alſo held at Toberhead at the houſe of Archibald Scott, who alſo received truth (a religious, honeſt-hearted man), and people more and more were convinced, inſomuch that the prieſts and profeſſors ſtill raged, many tender people leaving them; and to revenge themſelves they caſt William Edmundſon into priſon in Ardmagh, the county-gaol not being repaired after the war. He was put into a little room in the gaoler's houſe, where although he was weak in his own eyes, the Lord was his ſtrength, and his power comforted him, and he was made a terror to the gaoler and his wife, although he ſaid nothing.

This year James Lancaſter and John Tiffin came over from England, in the miniſtry a ſecond time. They landed in the North, and being at meeting on the green in Lurgan, near the market-place, many rude perſons came thither, and beat the ſaid two friends and William Edmundſon very ſeverely, and drove them to the town's end, thinking to drive them out of it, but the more ſober ſort of people roſe up againſt them and prevented it.

In the beginning of this year alſo came over, and landed in Dublin, Elizabeth Fletcher and Elizabeth Smith, who having the teſtimony of truth to declare, publiſhed the ſame both at the publick worſhip-houſe called St. Audeon's, and at a meeting of the Baptiſts. For the firſt they were committed by order of Richard Tigh, Lord mayor of the city, to Newgate priſon, and the Baptiſts rejected the teſtimony of truth. After they were releaſed from Newgate, they had a meeting at the chamber of Richard Fowkes, a taylor, near Polegate, which was the firſt meeting that can be remembered to have been kept in Dublin, and the firſt ſettled meeting was at George Latham's near Polegate. Their ſervice was alſo great in the ſouthern parts, particularly at Youghall, where divers were convinced by their miniſtry, viz. captain James Sicklemore, Robert Sandham, and ſeveral others; and the ſame two women were the firſt of the people called Quakers that came to the city of Cork, in the ſame year 1655; and with Edward Burrough and Francis Howgil, who alſo arrived the ſame year, were inſtrumental to the convincement of many in the province of Munſter, and particularly in Cork, viz. Elizabeth Erberry, Alexander Atkins, and Ann his wife, Thomas Mitchel, and Suſanna his wife, Philip Dymond, Richard Pike, and Elizabeth his wife, Francis Rogers, William Rogers, Stephen Harris, and his wife, George Webber, George Gamble, Henry Faggater, Thomas Ridge, and others.

Not long after this ſeveral were convinced, as Elizabeth Gardner, a faithful, zealous woman who lived and died in the truth, Samuel Claridge, James Fade, and William Wadman.

The aforeſaid Elizabeth Fletcher viſited Ireland a ſecond time about two years after,* and Francis Howgil recommended her by the following teſtimony addreſſed to the Friends of Ireland:

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* As this record of the friends of Ireland may be relied on as authentic, the perſon called Elizabeth Fletcher, who in Sewel's Hiſtory, p. 91, is ſaid to have died ſoon after the abuſe ſhe received in the year 1654, muſt either have been another of the ſame name, or elſe it muſt have been a miſtake that ſhe died ſoon after that time.

'I am glad that my dear and well-beloved ſiſter Elizabeth Fletcher (who is a helper and worker in the Lord's vineyard) is moved to come to you again, who is ſound, honeſt, precious, and of good report in the family of God, who I know will be ſerviceable to the Lord and to you, in this his day wherein he is ſpreading his name through the nations.'

'Francis Howgil.'

The ſaid Elizabeth Fletcher having declared Truth in the market-place at Youghall, after ſhe had had a large and ſatisfactory meeting, James Wood, an independent teacher, oppoſed women's preaching; but ſhe, having ſpoken largely before, and particularly among other things, of the Lord's pouring forth his ſpirit upon ſons and daughters according to the prophet Joel, and recommended the people to the grace of God, was not forward to anſwer his cavils; but James Sicklemore and Edward Laundy took up the argument in her behalf, and in the concluſion truth prevailed over the oppoſition then raiſed againſt it.

About this time W. E. relates in his Journal that he had ſome drawings on his ſpirit to go for England and ſee George Fox, whom he had not yet ſeen; and accordingly went over, and met with him at Badgeley in Leiceſterſhire, and that George Fox took notice of him, and they went into a retired place, where G. Fox kneeled down and prayed, and that the Lord's heavenly power and preſence was there: he told George of ſeveral being convinced in Ireland, and of the openneſs amongſt people in the North of that nation to hear the truth declared, and of the want of miniſtring friends in the goſpel there, who hereupon wrote the following epiſtle to friends of Ireland, and ſent it by William Edmundſon, viz.

'Friends,

'In that which convinced you, wait, that you may have that removed you are convinced of; and all my dear friends, dwell in the life, and love, and power, and wiſdom of God, in unity one with another, and with God; and the peace and wiſdom of God fill all your hearts, that nothing may rule in you but the life, which ſtands in the Lord God. G. F.'

And W. E. upon his return to Ireland read the foregoing epiſtle to friends in a meeting; whereupon he further relates that the power of the Lord ſeized on them whereby they were mightily ſhaken and broken into tears.

The ſummer of the ſame year was memorable for the landing of Francis Howgil and Edward Burrough, two able eminent preachers of the goſpel of peace: they had great ſervice in Munſter, ſeveral receiving their teſtimony and adhering to the doctrine they preached. It was therefore reſolved that they ſhould not be ſuffered to ſtay long in Ireland, but by an order from the government, at the inſtigation of the prieſts, they were taken priſoners in Cork, and ſent by a guard from garriſon to garriſon to Dublin in order to be baniſhed. They had no meeting in Dublin, yet had ſome ſervice for the Lord with thoſe that came to ſee them, being confined to the houſe of Mortimer, ſerjeant at arms, and after ſome time were in a violent manner haled a ſhip-board, and baniſhed for England.

Some hints of their ſervices are left us, which I ſhall here inſert, and next an account of the firſt convincement of friends at Limerick.

And firſt of the ſervice of the ſaid Francis Howgil, at Bandon, where he was received by Edward Cook (a man of great parts, a cornet of horſe in Oliver Cromwell's own troop, and receiver to the lord Cork), who alſo went with him on a Firſt-day of the week to the public worſhip-houſe at Bandon, where the ſaid Francis having declared truth amongſt the people, Edward Cook invited them to come to a meeting to be held at his houſe that evening; where there was a great concourſe of people, to whom Francis preached the goſpel, and opened the way of life and ſalvation; and many confeſſed to the truth of what he declared, and joined in ſociety with friends, as Edward Cook and Lucretia his wife, Daniel Maſſey and Sarah his wife, Robert Mallins and Mary his wife, Katharine Smith, William Smith, Matthew Prin, William Driver, Joan Frank, Thomas Biſs, &c.

Concerning the aforeſaid Edward Cook the following teſtimony is left us: ‘he embraced the truth with his whole heart, and retained it; was given up to ſerve the Lord, and lived and walked under the croſs of Chriſt Jeſus, in great ſelf-denial to the world and the glory and greatneſs of it, to his dying day, and laid down his head in peace with God, and ſweet unity with true-hearted friends.’

On the Seventh day of the week Edward Burrough and Francis Howgil, and with them James Sicklemore and Edward Cook, went to Limerick, and next morning to the publick place of worſhip, and after ſome time, attempting to ſpeak, were run upon by the people, and next day put forth through the gates by an order; and as they rode along, Edward Burrough preached through the ſtreets on horſeback, and without the gates had an opportunity of ſpeaking to a great multitude that followed; as alſo Francis Howgil, James Sicklemore, and Edward Cook ſpoke a few words; the tendency of which was to direct the people to Chriſt Jeſus, a meaſure of whoſe light was given to every one to profit withal. Theſe acceptable tidings of the goſpel of peace took place with Thomas Phelps, Richard Pearce, John Love, &c.

Divers alſo were convinced the ſame year at Kinſale by the miniſtry of the aforeſaid Edward Burrough and Francis Howgil, and among the reſt

Suſannah Worth, wife of Edward Worth, afterwards biſhop of Killaloe, who, though ſhe ſuffered much from her huſband, lived and died in unity with friends.

After ſome time, ſeveral other friends came to Limerick, as John Perrott, Robert Mallins, Humphrey Norton, William Shaw, Thomas Loe, and ſome women friends, as Barbara Blugdon, &c. Now thoſe who had received ſome degree of convincement, being yet but tender and weak, went for ſome time to hear one Robert Wilkinſon, a captain in the army, and withal a preacher, a man in great eſteem, much given to religious diſputation, and attended by a large auditory, who, according to the account given of him, appears to have been a man that had received ſome illuminations, but too much a ſtranger to that ſilent and humble waiting in the divine light, which would mortify the carnal will, that would buſily but unprofitably intermeddle in ſpiritual matters. Him, however, theſe newly convinced went to hear, until one Abraham Newbold, by an impulſe on his mind, came from Waterford and went alſo to that meeting where the ſaid Robert Wilkinſon was preaching, and ſtood up, and with a ſtrong voice uttered theſe words, Serpent be ſilent; a few words, but powerful, which when Wilkinſon heard, he would have entered into diſpute and known by what ſpirit the ſaid Newbold ſpake, to which Newbold only gave anſwer, Thou knoweſt not. Wilkinſon attempted however to proceed in his preaching; but was ſo diſcompoſed that he could not, but was carried out of the meeting, and on the next meeting-day was ſo diſordered that he was taken out of the meeting fainting, and from that time ceaſed preaching any more, and became fooliſh in the latter end of his days.

In proceſs of time it came to paſs that thoſe convinced, being more enlightened in their underſtandings, met together in ſilence, and alſo became concerned to bear a teſtimony to the truth againſt the world's faſhions and manners; and their words, habits and deportment made them a reproach, and brought them into ſufferings, as impriſonment, &c. Nay, the magiſtrates did publickly forbid the people to buy any thing of friends, and particularly of Richard Pearce, apothecary in Limerick; and this ſuſpenſion continued on him ſeveral months, but he regained his buſineſs, and followed it with reputation the reſt of his days. He was the firſt in Limerick that received friends into his houſe, where meetings were kept for many years, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Thomas Pearce, both in his outward and in his inward calling. But to return to Edward Burrough; beſides divers places in Munſter, he viſited Kilkenny, where he laboured in the goſpel, and ſeveral were convinced, and a meeting was ſettled there and kept up ſeveral years: but William Mitchel and his wife fell into ſome wild imaginations, and George Danſon and his wife into quarrelling, and ſo the meeting came to be loſt, yet one ancient woman, by name Eſther Beaver, continued faithful to her dying day, who received friends that came to viſit the ſaid place, and meetings were many times kept there afterwards.

In order that my reader may form ſome idea of the ſpirit and character of the aforeſaid Edward Burrough, I ſhall here inſert the ſubſtance of two papers written by him, breathing forth the ſpirit of evangelical liberty, viz.

'To the judges and juſtices and all that handle the law.'

'Chriſt Jeſus is the light of the world, by which every one of you is enlightened, which light if you love and be guided by, it will lead you out of the world's ways, nature, and unrighteouſneſs, and will give you an entrance into everlaſting life; and in this world it will teach you how to ſerve God in righteouſneſs in your generation, and to give righteous judgments and counſels among your brethren without reſpect of perſons. None can rule for God but who are ruled by him, with his light that ſhines in the conſcience, by which you being governed, will by it govern in the earth righteouſly. You are not to judge for gifts and rewards, for if you do, you judge not for God, but for yourſelves, and you and your judgment is to be judged and condemned with the righteous law of God, which is free; but ſuch who fear God and hate covetouſneſs, and gifts and rewards, are to bear rule, and ſuch will handle the law righteouſly, and be a terror to evil doers, and will ſtand for the praiſe of them that do well. But if ſuch bear rule and handle the law which know not God, nor are ruled by him, theſe will abuſe the law and be a terror to righteouſneſs and good works, and will ſtrengthen the hands of evil doers, and will let vice and wickedneſs eſcape unpuniſhed.

‘ The law was added, to ſlay unrighteouſneſs, againſt the diſobedient and lawleſs; but it was not made for the righteous, whoſe conſciences are exerciſed towards God and towards man by the pure law of God written in the heart. If you make a law in your own (carnal) wills, and judge by ſuch a law, then you will make the innocent ſuffer, and oppreſs them who walk in the law of God, and in the exerciſe of a pure conſcience: Chriſt was put to death by ſuch a law, and the ſaints in all generations were perſecuted by ſuch laws which were made in the will of man, contrary to the will and law of God: ſo take heed what you do, and know your place and the length and breadth of your law, which is committed to you, which is to keep the outward man in good order, and the nation in peace and truth, and from theft, and murder, and adultery, and quarreling, and drunkenneſs, and wronging one another, and ſuch like: ſuch who act theſe things walk contrary to the light, and ſo bring themſelves under the penalty of the law: but over the inward man your law, which is outward, hath no power to limit, to tie to or from any way of worſhip in religion; but let religion defend itſelf, and lay not your law upon the conſcience to exerciſe dominion over it (for it is Chriſt's ſeat in which he will rule), leſt you be found tyrants and numbered for deſtruction; nor limit the Spirit of the Lord, how, when, where, and by whom it muſt ſpeak; for the holy men of God in all ages ever cried againſt ſuch rulers as did judge falſe judgment, and for gifts and rewards, and againſt ſuch prieſts and prophets as preached for hire and divined for money, and ſought for their gain from their quarter, and through covetouſneſs made merchandize of ſouls: therefore ye be warned, if ſuch you uphold, by law, who act ſuch things which the Scripture declares againſt, the Scripture which you profeſs will ſtand a witneſs againſt you, and the law of God will condemn you; and God will lay your honour in the duſt, and caſt you out of the ſeat of judgment: but judge the cauſe of the poor and needy, of the widow and fatherleſs, and join mercy with judgment, and lay your ſwords upon oppreſſion and all tyranny and wrong dealing, that the land may be cleanſed of evil-doers, and equity and righteouſneſs may flow down, and the nation in good order may be kept, in peace and righteouſneſs, and ſo God will eſtabliſh you among his children, who are taught of him alone, and are far from oppreſſion.' Written at Dublin the 23d of the Eighth month, 1655, by Edward Burrough.

He alſo wrote another paper entitled, 'The Unjuſt Sufferings of the Juſt declared, and their Appeal to the Juſt Witneſs of God in all Men's Conſciences,' which was as follows:

'To all ye colonels and commanders and officers, and to all the honeſt-hearted in the city of Dublin and elſewhere, to whom this may come.

‘Hereby we the priſoners of the Lord, for the teſtimony of Jeſus, and for the exerciſe of a pure conſcience, do lay down our cauſe before you, and to the light of Jeſus Chriſt in all your conſciences we appeal in this our cauſe of righteouſneſs and innocency, to be judged thereby. We are men fearing God and working righteouſneſs, and are friends to the commonwealth of Iſrael, and are exalters of juſtice and true judgment in the earth, and are ſubject to all juſt power, and to every juſt ordinance of man for conſcience-ſake, and have ſuffered the loſs of all, and have borne part of the burden with you, that we might obtain the freedom of the righteous ſeed, and the liberty of tender conſciences, to ſerve the Lord in his own way; and we are well known to the Lord though ſtrangers to you, and are freemen in the record of heaven, though now ſufferers unjuſtly under your preſent authority, who have taken the place of exerciſing lordſhip over our pure conſciences, and have impriſoned us, and endeavoured to give judgment of baniſhing us, only upon falſe accuſations, and informations and ſlanders, without the proof or teſtimony of any accuſation of evil juſtly laid to our charge. And to you hereby be it known, that not for evil-doing do we thus ſuffer, for to this preſent no man hath convinced us of any evil, nor juſtly proved the tranſgreſſion of any law, martial or civil, againſt us, though we ſtand accuſed of many grievous things, of which we are clearly innocent in the ſight of him that lives for ever, and do nothing more deſire herein but to be tried by the law of equity and righteouſneſs and judged according thereunto. By virtue of command given unto us by the eternal Spirit of the Lord came we into this land of Ireland, contrary to the will of man, not to ſeek ourſelves, nor our own glory, nor to prejudice your nation nor government, nor to be hurtful to your commonwealth, but with the meſſage of the goſpel of Chriſt Jeſus we came to turn from darkneſs to light, and from the power of ſatan to the power of God, and to miniſter the word of reconciliation and ſalvation freely (without gift or reward) unto loſt ſouls; and hereof God is our witneſs, and alſo we have the ſeals of our miniſtry, which unto us herein can give teſtimony by the ſame ſpirit, and this are we ready to ſeal with our blood. And theſe ſix months and upwards have we laboured in travels and ſufferings, and reproaches, and have paſſed through your cities and towns in ſoberneſs; and in meekneſs have we preached the kingdom of God, and have holden forth the word of truth and the teſtimony of Jeſus; and our lives have we not loved till this day, though ſometimes dangers on every ſide have beſet us, that we might hold forth the faith of Jeſus, the author of our profeſſion, in the exerciſe of a pure conſcience, both by doctrine and converſation; and herein are we juſtified in the ſight of God, and who is he that condemns us? And we call heaven and earth to record, and the light in all men's conſciences who have heard our doctrine and ſeen our converſation, to witneſs for us herein; and we challenge all your nation of Ireland, our very enemies, to prove the contrary; though otherwiſe we ſtand falſely accuſed and falſely reputed to be diſturbers and makers of diſorders, to the breach of publick peace and ſuch like grievous things, upon the falſe information whereof a warrant was iſſued out from the chief ruler and council of Ireland, and we thereby were apprehended in the city of Cork, and haled by guards as malefactors too, before the council in this city, where none of all theſe falſe accuſations were or could be proved againſt us, nor the tranſgreſſion of any known law could we be convicted of; and though occaſions were ſought againſt us, yet none could be found, and though ſnares were laid for our feet, yet were we not entrapped, but were cleared in the ſight of God, witneſſed by the light in all their conſciences, and were found innocent and without reproof in the eye of the Lord; and by our innocency were their orders of falſe accuſations made of none effect, and we thus far proved to be guiltleſs before the throne of true judgment: yet notwithſtanding, contrary to the light in their own conſciences, and contrary to the juſt laws of the nations (which afford freedom to the free-born and righteous) were we committed to priſon without conviction, or any guilt charged upon us, or the leaſt appearance of evil towards any man's perſon, though falſely accuſed, yet no true teſtimony given againſt us, whereby our boldneſs in the way of the Lord could be diſcouraged, as having the teſtimony of the Spirit of God bearing us witneſs in the Holy Ghoſt, that in all good conſcience towards God and towards man we have lived to this day; alſo are without reproof in the ſight of God and all juſt men; and though upon ſearch and examination we were found guiltleſs thus far, yet farther hath the enemy, the devil, prevailed in cruelty againſt the innocent, that it is endeavoured that we be baniſhed under the account of vagabonds, which laſt accuſation is the moſt falſe and unrighteous; for we challenge this, Of whom have we begged? Or to whom have we been burthenſome? Or whoſe bread have we eaten for nothing? Or what evil have we done? Where is the teſtimony of your ſlanders? But innocently do we ſuffer theſe things, bearing reproaches, and binding the cruelty done unto us as chains about our necks, and as crowns upon our heads, having the aſſurance that for well-doing we ſuffer theſe things from the hands of the rulers, through the lies and ſlanders of the teachers, who are in Cain's way of perſecution, till they have fulfilled their meaſure of wickedneſs, and be laid waſte as the wilderneſs. And this is our cauſe, and hereby it comes before you, by the light of Chriſt in your conſciences to be judged, if your hearts be not altogether hardened, and your mind wholly blinded; and we lay it at your door to receive ſentence from you, and without reſpect of perſons hold forth our guiltleſs cauſe before you, not begging any thing from you, but herein to clear our conſciences, that you may ſave yourſelves from this untoward generation, whoſe root is corrupt, and fruit bitterneſs; for while we have breath from the Lord, and enjoyment of his preſence, our duty is to ſerve the Lord, in bearing witneſs againſt injuſtice, and all cruelty and oppreſſion, and ſhall appeal to receive juſtice from the preſent power that now rules; for in the name of the Lord we challenge our privilege of freedom, as being free born, till we be accuſed guilty by the juſt law of equity, unto which we are ſubject for conſcience-ſake, and not to any man's will, but by word and writing are bound by the law of God to bear witneſs againſt the unjuſt proceedings herein of the heads and rulers of Dublin, and ſhall ſeal our witneſs againſt them, and againſt their unrighteous decrees ſealed in their cruelty againſt the innocent, with our blood, if thereunto we be called.

'Edward Burrough.'

Dublin, the 26th of the Twelfth Month,
1655.

He alſo wrote a paper dated from the city of Cork, entitled, 'A Diſcovery of the Idol Dumb Shepherds in Ireland, and a Lamentation over their Starved and Strayed Flocks.' And another from Catherlough, entitled, 'An Invitation to all the poor deſolate Soldiers, to repent, and make their Peace with the Lord, and their Duty ſhewed them what the Lord requires of them.' Both which may be ſeen in his works.

So much may ſuffice as ſpecimens of the ſaid Edward Burrough's method of addreſſing ſtrangers: I ſhall next ſubjoin an epiſtle of his to the brethren here, both as a ſpecimen of the language and ſentiments of friends in thoſe days, and as containing matter not unworthy the attention of thoſe of the preſent generation, viz.

'To all the ſeed of God in Ireland, whom the Lord is gathering by his out-ſtretched arm, and making veſſels of his honour, that he may dwell with you.

'The grace, mercy, and peace of God be increaſed amongſt you, that the Father may reap fruit of you, who is glorified by bringing forth much fruit: I ſay unto you all, Love the Lord and his truth above all things, and let his fear be before your eyes, and his judgments in your hearts continually, that you may never offend his Spirit in you, nor grieve his righteous ſoul. Take heed unto yourſelves and be watchful, leſt the enemy prevail over you, and lead you aſide from the way of truth and peace, and then trouble and wrath come upon you if you ſin againſt him.

'Therefore every particular of you know and feel a meaſure of the ſtrength of Chriſt in you, that you may be warned againſt all the wiles of ſatan, whoſe power worketh and moveth in the fleſhly part which ruleth above the ſeed of God, which part muſt be crucified and circumciſed with the circumciſion made without hands, that you may be pure and clean, veſſels of honour fitted for the maſter's uſe; for none can honour the Lord but thoſe that are purified by him, and Chriſt comes to purify, and he is ſitting as a refiner's fire, and this is witneſſed amongſt all that wait upon him.

'So you that are turned to the power of God in you, mind it and be obedient unto it in all things, and reſiſt the power of ſatan, which would lead from God, and wait for power that you may be the children of God, and may fulfil his will in all things, and unto this you are called by the preaching of the goſpel which came amongſt you from the Lord, that you may know things which are eternal, and might be reconciled to God thereby.

. . . . .

'I ſay from the Lord, you are not called to fulfil your own wills in any things, but the will of the Lord in all things, which if you do his will, you will thereby be ſanctified, and the old man will be put off, and all the works of the devil will be deſtroyed, and Chriſt the ſecond Adam will give you power over all your enemies within and without, as the fleſhly part in you is ſubdued by the working of his Spirit, which every one of you muſt feel and know, which leads into all truth, and condemneth all evil: and all that are in the evil are not led by the Spirit of God though they profeſs the Scriptures, and ſuch are not the children of God, nor heirs of his inheritance, which every one of you muſt wait for, and to be born of the incorruptible ſeed by the word of God, which lives for ever, which word you muſt feel in you, and its operation, which is as a fire, and like a hammer: ſo the ſaints ſaid it was, and ſo we witneſs it to be; and every one that handles, taſtes and feels of this word, thereby is the enmity ſlain in its ground and fruits, and the body of death is put off, and the new man is put on, who is the expreſs image of God, which every one of you muſt know and witneſs, for it is the Father's mark upon the forehead, for ye that bear it not cannot be juſtified nor ſaved in the day of the Lord.

'Every one of you having a meaſure of light from Chriſt the Saviour, unto this you are to take heed only, and it leads to Chriſt to receive him and be joined to him: ſo every one take heed to your own meaſures of the grace of God, and a ſufficient teacher you will witneſs, and the new covenant you will know, where ſin and iniquity is not remembered, but forgiven and blotted out; and here is the true rejoicing where power is received over all ſin, and death is deſtroyed, and victory is known, and the ſonſhip is witneſſed, and into this muſt every one grow, into perfection and completeneſs in Jeſus Chriſt.

'So all friends, I do warn you all, patiently to wait upon the Lord, that you may witneſs the fulfilling of the promiſes, and may know theſe things in the ſpirit, and may have them as a treaſure in your hearts; for the knowledge of God is a treaſure, and to know him is life eternal; and it is the upright in heart whom he teacheth knowledge, and it is into the pure heart that his knowledge is put.

'So mind that which will purify your hearts, that the Lord may dwell in you and with you, and let love and unity abound one towards another, and ſerve one another in love; and all ſerve the Lord Jeſus, and dwell in the croſs to the world and all its ways; for the croſs of Chriſt is the power of God which ſlays the enmity, and brings forth the ſeed of God, and every one keep to your own meaſures which God hath given you, and that will guide you in all the ways of peace.

'Judge not above your meaſures, for then the Lord doth not guide you; neither be haſty, raſh, or forward, for then you go out of God's counſel, and lay yourſelves open to temptations to be overcome of the devil, you going from the light you loſe your armour, and that which ſhould defend you from the devil, and your latter end is worſe than your beginning, if again you be overcome of him: wherefore all friends, be circumſpect and watchful, leſt at any time you be tempted and overcome, and ſo loſe your peace, and then trouble and ſorrow take hold upon you, whenſoever you have loſt the countenance of the Lord.

'Keep your meetings in the fear of the Lord, and you will ſee the Lord amongſt you, and his preſence refreſhing your hearts; and as you are moved with the power of the Lord, be obedient in every thing, and watch over one another with a ſingle eye, and inform and inſtruct in the fear of the Lord, and be examples one to another in righteouſneſs, and give no occaſion unto the world by an impure converſation, but walk in wiſdom and in the fear of the Lord towards all men, that the witneſs of God in every one may anſwer for you and juſtify our God.

'The Lord hath a ſeed in Ireland gathering and to be gathered, and your heavenly converſation will preach to others, and ſo every one will be a miniſter of Chriſt in his place, as ye walk in the light which Chriſt hath enlightened you withal, who lighteth every man that cometh into the world, that all men may believe; and he that hateth the light remaineth in unbelief and under condemnation; but he that loveth the light, his deeds are wrought in God, and they ſhall not be condemned.

'My love in the Lord is towards you all that hunger after righteouſneſs, and my prayers are for you all, that perfect reſt you may obtain, and ſalvation.

'I am now a priſoner for Chriſt's ſake, and for his truth's ſake, through the cruelty of men who hate the Lord and his ſervants, but am perfectly well in the Lord, knowing that this ſhall be for the furtherance of the goſpel of Chriſt. The preſence of the Lord be amongſt you all, and his eternal power give you victory over all your enemies. Amen.

'Edward Burrough.'

From the common gaol in Kingſton upon Thames, in the county of Surry, the 25th day of the Sixth month, 1657.

Concerning the ſaid Edward Burrough and Francis Howgil, this teſtimony is given in the account of the early ſufferings of friends in Ireland, viz.

'They were made a bleſſing to us, the Lord working mightily by them, to the turning of many from darkneſs to light, and from ſatan's power unto God; and their doctrine and converſation was ſuch as truly reached unto and anſwered the witneſs of God in our conſciences; and we may praiſe the Lord on their behalf, who were unto us the meſſengers of ſalvation.'

The ſame day, or a few days after that Edward Burrough and Francis Howgil were baniſhed for England, landed Barbara Blaugdon from the weſt of England, who went to Henry Cromwell, then lord-deputy, and bad him beware he was not found fighting againſt God, in oppoſing the truth and perſecuting the innocent; but like wiſe Gamaliel to let them alone, for if the work was of God, it would ſtand, but if of man, it would fall.* The deputy heard her moderately, ſo that ſhe perceived the enmity did not lie ſo much in himſelf, as that he was ſtirred up to perſecution by evil magiſtrates and prieſts. Having performed her ſervice in Dublin, ſhe went to Cork, where ſhe had ſome acquaintance and relations; but her ſufferings were great, for ſhe was impriſoned almoſt wherever ſhe came, being moved to follow thoſe of her acquaintance into ſeveral ſteeple-houſes; yet wherever her mouth was opened, there were ſome that received her teſtimony. Not long after, ſhe was moved to come a ſecond time to Ireland, and in Dublin ſhe went into the court of juſtice and ſpoke to the judges, exhorting them to righteouſneſs; which was taken ſo ill that ſhe was impriſoned for it, but was releaſed by the interceſſion of ſir William King, colonel Fare, and the lady Browne.†

This year (1656) ſeveral others in the miniſtry came over, and had good ſervice in turning many to the Lord, particularly John Bowran of Cotherſtone in Yorkſhire, who landed in Dublin, and afterwards travelled into the North. He viſited Ireland ſix times in ſix years. See Piety Promoted, Part III.

About the ſame time William Edmundſon, was moved in ſpirit to leave off ſhop-keeping, and take a farm, in order that he might, by his own example, miniſter ſtrength and encouragement in the teſtimony which this people deemed themſelves conſcientiouſly concerned to hold forth and maintain, againſt that antichriſtian yoke of oppreſſion, the enforcing the payment of tithes in theſe goſpel-times. With this view he and ſeveral friends leaving the meeting to which they belonged well ſettled, viz. Richard Jackſon, Anthony Jackſon, John Thompſon, Richard Fayle, John Edmundſon, William Moon, and their families, removed and took land in the county of Cavan, and dwelt there, and ſettled a meeting in that county, and held meetings in divers places to the advancement of truth and increaſe of friends, ſeveral being convinced and joining with friends: particularly John Pim, Robert Wardel, William Neale, William Parker, Thomas Lun, Thomas Morris, John Chandley, John Savage, Iſabel Acton, and many more.

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* See Sewel's Hiſtory of the Quakers

† Ibid.

But as their numbers increaſed, ſo did their ſufferings alſo increaſe, and they were greatly expoſed to the ſcorn, deriſion, and foul abuſes of the people, in bearing their innocent teſtimonies, in their lives and converſations, againſt the pride, pleaſures, paſtimes, vain faſhions and cuſtoms, with the exceſſes and evils that were in the world, both among profeſſors and profane, even the very prieſts themſelves, who incenſed the magiſtrates and other people againſt Friends, as being hereticks, deceivers, and what not?

Of theſe ſufferings W. E. in particular met with a large ſhare, beſides the many hard and dangerous travels and exerciſes he went through, when he was alone in the times when tories and robbers, after the war, were abroad, being ſometimes put under the neceſſity of paſſing deep waters in the winter-ſeaſon where bridges were not built; and once particularly he was put into priſon in Strabane, in his wet clothes, after travelling and ſwimming, by which he grew ſick, and received no help from any but the Lord, who healed him: yet through all theſe difficulties truth prevailed, and ſeveral were convinced, particularly at Strabane, where a meeting was ſettled and continued until the reſtoration of king Charles II. but then great ſufferings being expected, Robert Burgeſs and another, who were looked upon as the leading men of that meeting, proved unfaithful: the latter through fear of perſecution fled, and Burgeſs accepted of the office of a pariſh-clerk to the epiſcopal prieſt that then came in; but in a little time he was ſmitten with great affliction both in body and mind, which he believed to be for his backſliding from the truth, as he confeſſed to W. E. who went to ſee him in his illneſs, and ſoon after he died; and ſo through the unfaithfulneſs of thoſe men the meeting fell.

The ſtate of friends in general, about this time, and ſome particular memorable tranſactions at Belturbet, are ſo minutely deſcribed in the journal of W. E. that I ſhall here inſert them in his own words, viz.

‘ Now truth was much ſpread, and meetings ſettled in ſeveral places, many being convinced and brought to the knowledge of God, were added to friends; but ſufferings increaſed for not paying tithes, prieſts' maintenance, and towards repairing their worſhip-houſes, for not obſerving their holy days (ſo called) and ſuch like; they fleeced us in taking our goods, and impriſoned ſome of us.

‘ In thoſe days the world and the things of it were not near our hearts, but the love of God, his truth and teſtimony lived in our hearts; we were glad of one another's company, though ſometimes our outward fare was very mean, and our lodging on ſtraw; we did not mind high things, but were glad of one another's welfare in the Lord, and his love dwelt in us.

'Now I was often abroad in truth's ſervice, viſiting of friends, and getting meetings in ſeveral places. I was moved to travel into Leinſter province, and went from place to place as the Lord's good Spirit guided me. I came to Roſſenallis, and there met with two families come out of England, convinced of the truth; from thence I went to Nicholas Starkey's near Athlone, and had a meeting there on a Firſt-day, to which ſeveral ſober people came, and the Lord's power and preſence was with us.

'From thence I went to Mullingar, and lodged there one night, where was a trooper that was convinced, who rode with me ſeveral miles the next day, and continued coming to meetings. I came that night to Finagh, but the inn-keepers in the town refuſed me lodging, for that (they knew) I was a Quaker: it was in winter-time, and cold weather; ſo I inquired for the conſtable, and they ſhewed me his houſe. I told him he muſt provide me lodging, for I was a traveller, had money to pay for what I ſhould have, and had been at the inns, where they refuſed me lodging. He kept an ale-houſe, and had alſo refuſed me, but after much diſcourſe with him, he told me I muſt be content with ſuch lodging as he had for me. I told him, to let me have a room with a fire to ſit by, and hay for my horſe, and I would be content: ſo I alighted, went into the houſe, and there were troopers drinking. They ſoon perceived what I was, and began to ſcoff and to aſk me many queſtions, which I anſwered in my freedom; but when I thee'd and thou'd them in our diſcourſe, they were very angry, and one of them ſwore, if I thou'd him again he would cleave my head; but in our diſcourſe when it came in its place I thou'd him again, and he ſtarting up in anger, drew his ſword; but one of his corporals ſitting by him ſtopped him, and commanded him to put up his ſword, for there ſhould be no cleaving of heads there; ſo cauſed the troopers to go to their quarters, but he ſtaid with me diſcourſing late in the night, and was convinced, being tender, received the truth, and came to meetings.

'About this time we had a meeting at Belturbet, and the Lord's power and preſence was with us, but the provoſt of the town was an envious man; who came with ſome rude people, broke up our meeting, and took us to priſon, both men and women; we were all night in a very cold place, the women were mightily pinched with cold, it being froſt and ſnow; the next morning he ſet all the other friends at liberty, but me he put in the ſtocks in the market-place, and people gathered about me, where I had an opportunity to preach the truth to them, which they heard with ſoberneſs, were tender and reflected much upon the provoſt for abuſing us.

'Robert Wardell then (being but a boy) told the provoſt, he had ſet a better man than himſelf in the ſtocks, and there was a time when ſuch as he durſt not have meddled with me; wherefore the provoſt took him and ſet him in the ſtocks by me; but his father ſoon heard of it, and threatened the provoſt with the law; for he was then maſter of the ſtore, (there being a garriſon of ſoldiers there) ſo Robert Wardell was ſoon taken out of the ſtocks; who being convinced, kept with friends, and afterwards became a ſerviceable man for truth, and a preacher of it.

'The people were much diſſatisfied with the provoſt; ſo he ſent his officer to let me looſe, who opened the ſtocks, and bid me take out my leg, for I might go my way; I told him, I had been groſsly abuſed, and made a publick ſpectacle to the people, as though I had done ſome great offence, but was not convicted of the breach of any law; ſo let the provoſt come himſelf and take me out, for he put me in. The provoſt came and opened the ſtocks, bidding me take out my leg. I told him, No, for he had made me a ſpectacle to the people, and I knew no law that I had broken, but let him take out my leg that put it in; ſo he opened the ſtocks with one hand, and took my leg out with the other: his name was Richard Weſt.

'At this time, Oliver Cromwell had put forth a declaration, that ſuch ſhould be protected in their religion, as owned God the Creator of all things, and Chriſt Jeſus the Saviour of man, and the Scriptures, and ſeveral other things mentioned therein: ſo the governor of that garriſon, with the officers and chief men in the town, and abundance of people with them (that filled the court-houſe) would try us by the declaration, whether we and our religion were under Oliver's protection, or not: the provoſt was there, and I was ſent for in; the clerk of the garriſon, who was then a Baptiſt (but afterwards a friend) read the declaration, and I was called to anſwer to the particulars; I anſwered them ſo, that the governor and they with him gave their judgment, that we were under protection, and our religion was to be protected.

'Then I called aloud, that they would bear witneſs, how long we had been impriſoned illegally, and that I ſat in the market-place in the ſtocks wrongfully, and that the law provided reparation in ſuch caſes; ſeveral of the chief of them offered to be evidence, if we would take the advantage of the law againſt the provoſt; he was quite daſhed and looked very pale. The governor came from his ſeat, and took me by the hand, ſaying he was ſorry that I and my friends were ſo abuſed, and did aſſure me that he had no hand in it. I aſked him, who he was? He ſaid, he was the governor of that garriſon. I aſked him, where he had been thoſe two days, that he did not appear with his band of ſoldiers to appeaſe the uproar; for I had read in the Scriptures, that at Jeruſalem, when there was an uproar on the like account, the governor came with a band of ſoldiers, and reſcued Paul from them, and appeaſed the uproar; and was it not a ſhame for him, that a heathen ſhould out-do him that profeſſed to be a Chriſtian? He was a Baptiſt, and ſo were ſeveral that were in authority thereabouts. My ſpirit was borne up in the power of the Lord, as upon the wings of an eagle that day: truth's teſtimony was over all their heads, and my heart was filled with joy and praiſes to the Lord; many were convinced that day, and ſeveral of them received the truth, and abode in it.

'There was one William Parker, a preacher amongſt the Baptiſts, he had oppoſed me ſtrongly at a court a little before this; his wife was a friend convinced in England; ſhe was a priſoner with us; they lived then in the country, and his wife not coming home, in the morning he came to look for her, and finding me ſitting in the ſtocks in the cold winter, in the open market-place, he was ſmitten to the heart; after I had done with them all, I was at liberty, and came to friends with my heart full of joy. The ſaid Parker was with friends, ſo I aſked him, what he thought of his brethren, to ſuffer us to be thus uſed, and they chief in command in that place? He anſwered with tears in his eyes, he was aſhamed of them, that had been ſo long profeſſing and fighting for conſcience, now to ſuffer conſcience to be trodden in the dirt; he went to them no more, but came to our meetings, taking up the croſs of Chriſt, and became an honeſt, zealous man of truth, having a publick teſtimony in meetings, and died in the true faith which Jeſus is the author of.

'There was alſo one William Morris, an elder amongſt the Baptiſts, in great repute, captain of a company, juſtice of the peace, commiſſioner of the revenues, chief treaſurer in that quarter, alſo chief governor of three garriſons; to whom the news of this day's work was ſoon carried, whereat he was much troubled in mind, and told the meſſenger, who was a juſtice of peace, it was a ſhame for them to ſuffer us to be ſo abuſed, ſaying, the time would come, that they would be glad to ſhelter under our wings. The rumour ſoon went among the Baptiſts, and to the court at Dublin, that capt. Morris was turned Quaker, whereupon he was removed with his company Southward; not long after he was ſent for to Dublin, to appear before the general and chief officers, many of whom were Baptiſts; he was examined about his being turned Quaker, which he did not deny, but confeſſed our faith and principles, and at that time was diſcharged from his command, becauſe he was a Quaker; he was a worthy, wiſe man, had a teſtimony in our meetings, and died in the faith of Jeſus.'

Thomas Loe, who was a lively miniſter of Chriſt Jeſus, and could divide the word aright, came over this year (1657) from Oxford in England, and had good ſervice in Munſter, and from thence travelled to Dublin on foot, where he declared the day of the Lord through the ſtreets thereof; preaching the word of life and ſalvation from James's gate until he came to Lazer's hill: he lodged at Stephen Rich's, where he ſometimes had meetings; alſo at captain Allen's, but the ſettled meeting was at George Latham's by Polegate: he had bleſſed ſervice, and many were convinced by him. Dublin was alſo viſited this year, by W. E. Edward Cook, and others, who had good ſervice, being inſtrumental to the convincement of ſeveral.

Richard Roper and William Waller alſo came over about this time, in the ſervice of the truth: they were ſincere and ſerviceable men, and they and Thomas Loe viſited ſome friends who had received truth in the county of Carlow, and ſeveral were convinced by their teſtimony, as Thomas Weſton and his wife, Henry Roſe, and others.

The before-mentioned Thomas Loe alſo viſited friends in Ulſter, and had good ſervice, many being convinced by him there, as alſo in moſt other parts of the nation.

This year (1658) friends in the miniſtry, with great zeal and fervency, travelled up and down, and ſettled meetings where they could in new places; and particularly W. E. travelling towards the Moate, a meeting was held at the houſe of Nicholas Starkey at Ballykilroe, being the firſt meeting that friends had obtained in thoſe parts.

This year (1659) landed at Donaghadee in Ulſter, John Burnyeat, an eminent, faithful ſervant of the Lord. He travelled on foot through divers parts of that province, and by his means many were convinced, and converted to God from the evil and vanity of their ways. From thence he travelled to Dublin, and had good ſervice for truth there, from whence he proceeded to Mountmelick, to Kilkenny, and ſo to Munſter, thence to Roſs, Wexford, Carlow, and back again to Mountmelick, and had meetings in other places as he travelled, preaching the true faith of Jeſus, and returned to the North; and at Lurgan he met with Robert Lodge, who was newly come from England, who was alſo an able miniſter of Chriſt, and they joined in travels as true fellow-labourers in the goſpel of the Son of God, ſpreading truth and convincing many. They went to Londonderry, but when the people diſcovered what they were, they were unwilling to receive them, or let them have lodging for their money. They went to the ſteeple-houſe there on the Firſt-day of the week, and had a good opportunity to declare the truth among the people; but at length the mayor ſent his officers and forced them out of the city, from whence they proceeded to ſeveral other places in the province of Ulſter, and to Dublin, Mountmelick, Athlone, Galway, Limerick, Cork and Bandon, and returned to the North again: and thus they ſpent their time with diligence and hard travel, often in cold, hunger, and hardſhip, many parts of the country being then uninhabited They were impriſoned ſeveral times, as in Armagh, Dublin, and Cork, beſides other abuſes that they received, becauſe of the teſtimony they had to bear in towns and ſteeple houſes, againſt hireling prieſts: and thus having laboured in the goſpel together for the ſpace of twelve months, and being inſtrumental to the convincing and gathering of many to the truth, being clear of their ſervice here, in the Seventh month, 1660, they took ſhipping at Carrickfergus for England.

Among others that believed and were added to Friends about the years 1658 and 1659, and continued faithful and ſerviceable in their day, by the lively miniſtry of the above mentioned Thomas Loe, W. E. John Burnyeat, Robert Lodge and others, were Francis Robſon, Roger Webb, Peter Roſs, Robert Hoope, and George Gregſon, who after ſome time was endued with a clear, lively, convincing gift of the miniſtry.

This year (1659) ſeveral of the friends above-mentioned,* by reaſon of their landlords not performing covenant with them, removed from the county of Cavan, and ſettled in and about Mountmellick, in the Queen's county, viz. W. E. Richard Jackſon, John Edmundſon, John Thompſon, William Moon, John Pim, and others, with their families; and ſeveral having been convinced thereabouts ſome time before, a meeting was ſettled at Mountmelick, which is ſince become large. As to the places they removed from, they left the meetings there in a ſettled condition, and ſo they continued, particularly the meeting at Cavan, until it was loſt by means of the wars, friends that lived there being diſperſed thereby, and driven from their habitations.

This year a meeting was ſettled at or near Moate, at the houſe of Thomas Engliſh. Some time after

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* See page 99.

John Clibborne, James Wiſely, Henry Fuller, formerly a captain, Abraham Fuller, Samuel Strangman, Thomas Beale, William Slade of Athlone, and many others being convinced, the meeting was removed to the houſe of John Clibborne at Moate.

About the ſame time W. E. and other friends viſited Drogheda, where ſome were convinced, and a meeting ſettled: much labour of miniſtering friends hath been ſince beſtowed upon that place, but through the unfaithfulneſs of ſeveral who lived there, the meeting hath decayed rather than increaſed, yet a ſmall meeting remains there unto this day.

Robert Turner having, about the year 1657, been inſtrumental to the convincement of a few who lived at Grange, near Charlemont in the province of Ulſter, this year (1660), their numbers being conſiderably increaſed through the labours of other travelling friends, a meeting was ſettled there.

About this time alſo a meeting was ſettled at Ballynakill in the Queen's county, Chriſtopher and John Raper being convinced.

The ſtate of Friends this year (1661) is deſcribed in the following words, by W.E. in his journal, p. 39, 40.

'Now was king Charles coming in, and theſe nations were in heaps of confuſion, and ran upon us as if they would have deſtroyed us at once, or ſwallowed us up; breaking up our meetings, taking us up in high-ways, and haling us to priſon; ſo that it was a general impriſonment of friends in this nation. I was priſoner at Maryborough, with many more friends, yet the Lord ſupported and bore up our ſpirits above ſufferings and mens' cruelties; ſo that friends were freſh and lively in the Lord's goodneſs and covenant of light and life, contented in the will of God; for we had many heavenly, bleſſed meetings in priſon, and the Lord's preſence with us, to our great comfort and conſolation in him, who wrought liberby for us in his own time.'

This year (1664) John Burnyeat aforementioned, came over a ſecond time and viſited friends in many parts of the nation, and had good ſervice, ſeveral being convinced by his means, and about the Seventh month he took ſhipping at Galway for Barbadoes. The number of friends increaſed greatly, and many viſits this nation had in thoſe days by faithful labourers in the goſpel, both of its own inhabitants and ſtrangers, notwithſtanding that through the covetouſneſs of the prieſts, great ſpoil was made of friends goods, a great deal being forcibly taken away for tythe and other demands, which friends for conſcience-ſake could not pay; whence ſome of them were caſt into priſon upon writs of excommunication and definitive ſentences; yet ſtill the Lord wrought favour in the hearts of rulers, and ſheriffs were often very favourable to friends, granting them their liberty when it was in their power.

The ſtate of friends at this time (1665), about Mountmelick, is thus deſcribed in William Edmundſon's journal:

'I having my liberty, found a concern on my mind, to ſolicit the government againſt the prieſts' fierceneſs and cruelty: for George Clapham, prieſt of Mountmelick, endeavoured to prevent the miller's grinding our corn for our families, or any to ſpeak or trade with us or any of our families; he watched the market and friends ſhops; and thoſe he ſaw or knew to deal with friends, he ſent the apparitor to ſummon them to the biſhop's court; ſo forced them to pay him and the apparitor money, to get freed from that trouble, they being afraid of the biſhop's court, it bore ſuch a great name.

'This prieſt told his hearers, that if they met any of us in the high-way, they ſhould ſhun us as they would ſhun the plague; and if they owed us any thing, they need not pay it; or if they knocked us on the head, the law would bear them out. At which the people were mightily troubled, and in general their love declined from the prieſt, and drew towards friends; they would offer their ſervants to carry our corn to the mill, that we might get bread for our families, or any other kindneſs they could do for us.

'I drew up a great deal of his groſs proceedings, and got many hands to them of his own people, who had been abuſed; ſo went to Dublin and petitioned the government, who with the primate took notice of it, and the privy-council reſented it, being contrary to all law and rule; ſo ſent an order for the prieſt and apparitor to appear before the council; they came, and were ſharply reproved, and had been puniſhed (for the primate ſaid he would make them examples), but that I told him, we deſired nothing but to be quiet, and live peaceably in our callings, and that they would deſiſt from their cruelty. The primate, Boyle, who was alſo chancellor, ſaid, if they do not deſiſt, do but write to him, and he would make them examples to the nation; ſo I forgave them, and let all fall. This gained much on the minds of many chief men in authority.

'Now this prieſt was very angry againſt me, although I had forgiven him as aforeſaid (being very greedy and covetous). One time he took a neighbour's horſe and cart, came to my houſe, and loaded and carried away a great deal of cheeſe; alſo at that time took away much goods, corn, and wearing-clothes, from friends of our meeting, for ſome church-dues as he ſaid; and I being at a meeting in Mountmelick, as I uſed to be when at home, he being a juſtice of the peace, ſent a conſtable to apprehend me, and made a mittimus to ſend me to Maryborough goal; but the earl of Mountrath ſuperſeded his warrant, and ſet me at liberty till the aſſizes.

'When the aſſizes came, he ſtood by me againſt the ſaid prieſt, who had drawn up two indictments againſt me; and when they came into court, four lawyers, one after another pleaded for me, though I knew nothing of them, or gave them any fee; but the Lord gave us place in the hearts of people, and their bowels yearned towards us. The indictment was quaſhed, and the prieſt hiſſed at by the court to his ſhame; the judge alſo turned againſt him; ſeveral friends came a great way to ſee and hear the trial, and greatly rejoiced in the Lord to ſee the prieſt fruſtrated in his evil deſigns.

Another time this prieſt Clapham indicted ſeveral friends of our meeting at the aſſizes at Maryborough, and me, for being at a meeting ſuch a day, which he called an unlawful aſſembly, and for not being at church (as he called it) the ſame day; he alſo indicted me for not paying a levy, or ſeſs, towards the repairs of his worſhip-houſe; though the wardens and conſtable had before taken from me for the ſame, a mare worth three pounds ten ſhillings. Several friends were thus proceeded againſt, and we were fined, and order given to diſtrain our goods: ſo I rode to Dublin and petitioned the lord lieutenant and council. I and one other friend were admitted into the council chamber, to ſtate our grievance, and had a very fair hearing, that judge being preſent who gave judgment againſt us at the aſſizes; the council gave their judgment that their proceedings were illegal; and the lord lieutenant would know, why we did not pay tithes to the miniſters? So I ſhewed him out of the Scriptures, the law was ended that give tithes, and the prieſthood changed that received them, by the coming and ſuffering of Chriſt, who had ſettled a miniſtry on better terms, and ordered them a maintenance; he would know, what maintenance the miniſters muſt have? I told him, ‘ Chriſt's allowance;’ and I ſhewed him from the Scriptures what it was, as the Lord opened them to me, by his Spirit and Power that was with me, which gave me wiſdom and utterance, and ſet home what I ſaid to their underſtandings. There were three biſhops preſent, and not one of them replied in all this diſcourſe, though ſo nearly concerned in it. In the concluſion, the lord lieutenant bid God bleſs us; adding, we ſhould not ſuffer for not going to their publick worſhip, neither for going to our meetings. Now this quieted the prieſt, and it ſoon went abroad, that the Quakers had the liberty of their religion, which was a great eaſe to friends, for we had been often impriſoned, and had much goods taken from us on that account.'

In the year 1666 a certain perſon, who afterwards became very conſpicuous for his good ſervices both to the church and to mankind in general, viz. William Penn was convinced; his father, ſir William Penn, then vice-admiral of England, having committed to his care and management a conſiderable eſtate in this kingdom, which occaſioned his coming hither; and being informed that Thomas Loe was to be at a meeting in Cork, he went to hear him; who began his declaration with theſe words; "There is a faith that overcomes the world, and there is a faith that is overcome by the world; upon which ſubject he enlarged with great clearneſs and energy; and by the living and powerful teſtimony of this man (which had made ſome impreſſion upon his ſpirit ten years before) he was now thoroughly convinced, and afterwards conſtantly attended the meetings of the people called Quakers, even through the heat of perſecution.

On the 3d of the Ninth month, 1667, being again at a meeting at Cork, he, with many others, was apprehended and carried before the mayor, who obſerving that his dreſs diſcovered not the Quaker, would have ſet him at liberty, upon bond for his good behaviour; which he refuſing, was, with about eighteen others, committed to priſon. He had, during his abode in Ireland, contracted an intimate acquaintance with many of the nobility and gentry, and, being now a priſoner, wrote the following letter

To the Earl of Orrery, Lord Preſident of Munſter.

‘ The occaſion may ſeem as ſtrange as my cauſe is juſt; but your lordſhip will no leſs expreſs your charity in the one, than your juſtice in the other.

Religion, which is at once my crime, and mine innocence, makes me a priſoner to a mayor’s malice, but mine own freeman; for being in the aſſembly of the people called Quakers, there came ſeveral conſtables back’d with ſoldiers, rudely and arbitrarily requiring every man’s appearance before the mayor, and amongſt others violently haled me with them. Upon my coming before him, he charged me for being preſent at a tumultuous and riotous aſſembly, and unleſs I would give bond for my good behaviour, who challenge the world to accuſe me juſtly with the contrary, he would commit me. I aſked for his authority; for I humbly conceive without an act of parliament, or an act of ſtate, it might be juſtly termed too much officiouſneſs. His anſwer was, A proclamation in the year 1660, and new inſtructions to revive that dead and antiquated order. I leave your lordſhip to be judge if that proclamation relates to this concernment: that only was deſigned to ſuppreſs fifth-monarchy killing ſpirits; and ſince the king’s lord lieutenant and yourſelf, being fully perſuaded the intention of theſe called Quakers by their meetings, was really the ſervice of God, have therefore manifeſted a repeal by a long continuance of freedom, I hope your lordſhip will not now begin an unuſual ſeverity, by indulging ſo much malice in one whoſe actions ſavour ill with his neareſt neighbours, but that there may be a ſpeedy releaſement to all for attending their honeſt callings, with the enjoyment of their families, and not to be longer ſeparated from both.

And though to diſſent from a national ſyſtem, impoſed by authority, renders men hereticks, yet I dare believe your lordſhip is better read in reaſon and theology, than to ſubſcribe a maxim ſo vulgar and untrue; for imagining moſt viſible conſtitutions of religious government, ſuited to the nature and genius of a civil empire, it cannot be eſteemed hereſy, but to ſcare a multitude from ſuch enquiries as may create diviſions fatal to a civil policy, and therefore at worſt deſerves only the name of diſturbers.

But I preſume, my lord, the acquaintance you have had with other countries, muſt needs have furniſhed you with this infallible obſervation, that diverſities of faith and worſhip contribute not to the diſturbance of any place, where moral uniformity is barely requiſite to preſerve the peace. It is not long ſince you were a good ſolicitor for the liberty I now crave, and concluded no way ſo effectual to improve or advantage this country, as to diſpenſe with freedom in things relating to conſcience; and I ſuppoſe were it riotous or tumultuary, as by ſome vainly imagined, your lordſhip's inclination, as well as duty, would entertain a very remote opinion. My humble ſupplication therefore to you is, that ſo malicious and injurious a practice to innocent Engliſhmen, may not receive any countenance or encouragement from your lordſhip; for as it is contrary to the practice elſewhere, and a bad argument to invite Engliſh hither, ſo, with ſubmiſſion, will it not reſemble that clemency and Engliſh ſpirit, that hath hitherto made you honourable.

If in this caſe I may have uſed too great a liberty, it is my ſubject, nor ſhall I doubt your pardon, ſince by your authority I expect a favour, which never will be uſed unworthy an honeſt man, and

Your Lordſhip's faithful, &c.
' W. Penn.'

His requeſt in the letter, ſo far as related to himſelf, was quickly granted, for the earl forthwith ordered his diſcharge.

His late impriſonment was ſo far from terrifying, that it ſtrengthened him in his reſolution of a cloſer union with that people, whoſe religious innocence was the only crime they ſuffered for. And now his more open joining with the Quakers, brought himſelf under that reproachful name.*

From the year 1665 to 1668, it doth not appear that Friends were under any great ſufferings, except by the prieſts, on account of tithes, &c. but the number of friends increaſed, and they gained credit by their faithfulneſs, and ſeveral new meetings were ſettled, whereof an account is given in due place hereafter.

And now the number of friends being become great, the neceſſity of church-government and diſcipline did more and more appear; and the weight thereof did reſt upon ſome, and chiefly upon W. E. whom the Lord hath been pleaſed to honour, as the chief inſtrument in this land, for the ſpreading of truth, and preſerving friends faithful therein; ſo that provincial meetings were ſet up to be held once in ſix weeks, and theſe were prior to the monthly meetings (even as the quarterly meetings in England were alſo prior to the monthly meetings there); and thoſe affairs which have ſince fallen under the cognizance of monthly meetings, were tranſacted at the provincial meetings, becauſe in thoſe times of infancy and ſufferings the mutual help and advice of brethren aſſembled from different parts was neceſſary, when particular meetings were frequently but ſmall and weak. The chief buſineſs of theſe meetings was to take care of the poor, fatherleſs, and widows; that marriages ſhould be decently and orderly accompliſhed according to the example of Holy Scripture, that juſtice and equity upon all occaſions might be practiſed by ſuch as frequented our aſſemblies; and whereas ſome of theſe did not walk conſiſtently with their profeſſion, it was neceſſary that the judgment of truth might be exercifed on ſuch, in order that the Chriſtian reputation of the ſociety might be maintained and preſerved.

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* See Penn's Works, Vol. I.

Thus was good order and diſcipline introduced in this kingdom, which was further confirmed, and monthly meetings and national half-year's meetings, were eſtabliſhed here upon the arrival of George Fox, in the following year.

In the mean-time, in the year 1668, died that eminent miniſter of Chriſt, Thomas Loe, concerning whom the friends of Ireland have left the following teſtimony:

'He was a man of an excellent gift, ſound, clear, and powerful in his miniſtry, elegant in ſpeech, ſharp and quick in his underſtanding. and his teſtimony was very convincing, to the ſtopping the mouths of gainſayers. Much people flocked after him; many friends up and down this nation received their convincement by him, and many were by him confirmed in the Truth. He was often in meetings engaged by prieſts and oppoſers of truth, in which exerciſe he was as a ſharp threſhing inſtrument in the hand of the Lord to confound them. In converſation he was ſweet and pleaſant, and ſympathizing with friends under afflictions, in which ſtate, yea, and in all ſtates, he had a word in ſeaſon to adminiſter. He travelled this land very much, viſiting it ſeveral times from England, and was ſeveral times a priſoner for his teſtimony to the truth. He was freely given up to ſpend and be ſpent in the ſervice of the goſpel, and in his laſt viſit to Ireland, his natural ſtrength was much impaired; after which when his ſervice was finiſhed, he returned to England, and laid down the body at London in great peace, ſinging praiſes to the Lord on his death-bed:' whereof a more minute account may be ſeen in the firſt part of Piety Promoted.

The county of Wicklow, which had been formerly viſited by Thomas Loe and John Edwards, was this year, 1669, viſited again by J. Haydock and ſome other friends, who had good ſervice; Thomas Trafford, the Penroſes and ſome others being convinced; and ſome time after a meeting was ſettled at Thomas Trafford's houſe at Garrymore; but the ſaid Thomas removing to Wicklow, ſome time after, it pleaſed the Lord to give him a ſhare in the miniſtry, and the meeting was kept there.

This year (1669) alſo came over from England in the ſervice of truth John Kilburne, who had good ſucceſs, and Roger Roberts particularly was convinced by his miniſtry.

The ſame year alſo was memorable for the arrival of that eminent miniſter and elder in the church, George Fox, who together with Robert Lodge, James Lancaſter, Thomas Briggs, and John Stubbs, landed at Dublin, and had a large meeting there on a week-day, and thence paſſed on to other parts, and had great ſervice both among friends and other people.

After the concluſion of one of their meetings ſome Papiſts who had been preſent, were angry and raged much: whereof when George Fox heard, he ſent for one of them, but he refuſed to come to him, whereupon George ſent a challenge to him with all the friars, monks, prieſts, and jeſuits to come forth and try their god and their chriſt, which they had made of their bread and wine, but no anſwer could he got from them, wherefore he told them, they were worſe than the prieſts of Baal: for Baal's prieſts tried their wooden god, but theſe durſt not try their god of bread and wine, and Baal's prieſts did not eat their god as they did, and then make another.[*]

George Fox in his journal gives the following account of this viſit:

'The prieſts and magiſtrates were envious, but the Lord diſappointed their counſels, and gave us many ſweet and bleſſed opportunities to viſit friends and ſpread truth in that nation. Meetings were large, friends coming to them far and near: many were reached, and convinced and gathered to the truth, and friends greatly refreſhed. Oh the brokenneſs that was among them in the flowings of life! ſo that in the power and ſpirit of the Lord many together broke out into ſinging with audible[†] voices.'

The ſaid George Fox had a ſingular gift in church diſcipline, and having in the year 1667 recommended the ſetting up of monthly meetings throughout England, he in the year 1668 wrote to Ireland and other countries, adviſing friends to ſettle the like meetings there alſo, and afterwards viſited thoſe countries in perſon, (and particularly this kingdom this year) and aſſiſted them in ſettling their men and women's meetings, and at Dublin he recommended the holding their men and women's meetings every two weeks, which hath been continued ever ſince; and the general meetings, conſiſting of ſome from each province, were concluded to be held half-yearly, on the Third and Ninth months, the firſt appointed meeting of which ſort was in the Third month, 1670, and this ſettlement remains unto this day.[‡]

In thoſe early days there was little more done at thoſe general meetings than collecting the ſufferings of friends for conſcience ſake, and making a record thereof with the cauſes alledged, and by whoſe order and on whoſe account; and if any friends were in priſon, to endeavour to make proper application for their releaſe.

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[*] This fact may ſerve abundantly to manifeſt the abſurdity of a ſcandal which ſome would affix on the original Quakers, as having been Jeſuits in diſguiſe, as it likewiſe ſhews that they are one with other ſound Proteſtants, in renouncing the idolatry of the church of Rome.

[†] See George Fox's Journal.

[‡] Altered to a yearly meeting in 1793.

But in proceſs of time many other weighty affairs, reſpecting good order and diſcipline in the church, became the ſubjects of their conſideration in theſe meetings; and indeed friends of this nation became juſtly conſpicuous by their zeal and diligence in the exerciſe hereof, and the ſame good ſpirit led both them and their brethren in England into the ſame wholeſome rules ſo excellent in themſelves, and ſo highly conducive to the preſervation of a Chriſtian community.

But to return to George Fox; after he had travelled over ſeveral parts of the nation and viſited friends in their meetings for buſineſs as well as worſhip, and recommended the ſettlement of meetings of diſcipline as above, and had anſwered ſeveral papers and writings from monks, friars, and Proteſtant prieſts (who were enraged againſt him) he, with Robert Lodge, Thomas Briggs, &c. returned for England, parting with friends in much tenderneſs and brokenneſs in the ſenſe of the heavenly life and power that was manifeſted among them.

This year (1669) alſo Solomon Eccles was put into priſon at Galway, by an occaſion ſomewhat extraordinary. His zeal was ſo great that what he judged evil he oppoſed with the hazard of his life, an inſtance of which occurred in a ſtrange action he performed in a chapel of the Papiſts without the ſaid town of Galway, where he went naked above his waiſt with a chafing-diſh of coals and burning brimſtone upon his head, and entered the chapel, when all the people were on their knees praying to their idol,* and ſpoke as followeth: ‘Woe to theſe idolatrous worſhippers: God hath ſent me this day to warn you and to ſhew you what will be your portion except you repent;’

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* Or images.

which when he had done, he went away to the town, where he was preſently made a priſoner.*

Another tranſaction of the ſaid Solomon Eccles recorded by the ſame hiſtorian, A. D. 1670, and a memorable inſtance of his zeal againſt time-ſerving, was as follows: the ſaid Solomon going into the cathedral at Cork, found there Benjamin Croſs preaching in a ſurplice, who having formerly been a Preſbyterian preacher in Dorſetſhire, had there ſaid, that he had rather go to the ſtake and be burnt, than put on a ſurplice. This prieſt (now become a turn-coat for gain) having finiſhed his ſermon and concluded with a prayer, Solomon Eccles declared that the prayer of the wicked is an abomination to the Lord, and knowing the deceitfulneſs of the ſaid prieſt, and that he was an apoſtate, added theſe words: 'What ſhall be done to the man that makes ſhipwreck of a good conſcience?" For this he was taken and commited to priſon by the mayor, where being kept ten days, he was accuſed as a vagabond, and, without examination, whipped through the ſtreets of Cork, from north-gate to ſouth-gate, and, having received about ninety ſtripes, was expelled.

Beſides the above-mentioned, ſeveral other friends alſo this year viſited this nation in the ſervice of truth, viz. Thomas Janny and John Abraham; and John Burnyeat landed here a third time and had bleſſed ſervice in Dublin and other parts of the nation; and thus by the bleſſing of the Lord upon the labours of his miniſters, many in divers parts of the nation were convinced of the truth, and joined with friends.

This year (1669) alſo Anthony Sharp came from England and ſettled in Dublin, who was very ſerviceable in many reſpects to friends, and after ſome time received a gift in the miniſtry. See the teſtimony concerning him A. D. 1706.

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* Sewel's Hiſtory.

THE
RISE AND PROGRESS
OF THE PEOPLE CALLED
QUAKERS,
IN
IRELAND.

CHAPTER II.

From the ſettlement of Church-diſcipline to the end of the troubles under King James II. The progreſs and increaſe of Friends in a ſtate of ſuffering. Their peculiar zeal and ſteadineſs in keeping up their Meetings for Divine worſhip in a time of perſecution whilſt other diſſenters fled. The ſtate of Friends under King James II. and their wonderful preſervation during the troubles. Summary accounts of the lives, characters, and Chriſtian experiences of divers of their eminent miniſters interſperſed.

SUFFERINGS ſtill attended friends, on divers accounts, particularly for bearing their teſtimony againſt the antichriſtian oppreſſion of tithes, for refuſing to ſwear, for not obſerving the days called holy-days, and frequently for mere meeting together peaceably to worſhip God, on which account they ſuffered impriſonment and fines.

William Penn, who was here this year, did frequently viſit his friends in priſon, and hold meetings with them, omitting no opportunity he had with thoſe in authority to ſolicit on their behalf; and as the

Ninth month national meeting was this year held at his lodgings in Dublin, an account of friends' ſufferings was there drawn up by way of addreſs, which he preſented to the lord-lieutenant,* whereupon an order of council was obtained for the releaſe of thoſe that were impriſoned.

For a more minute account of the ſufferings of friends on the above-mentioned and other occaſions, I muſt refer my reader to the Account of the Sufferings of the people called Quakers in Ireland, from the year 1655 to the end of the reign of King George I. publiſhed in Dublin, 1731.

The following inſtance however of the innocency of the ſufferers on the one hand, and of the ſeverity of the perſecutors on the other, I ſhall here inſert, viz.

Blanch Holden and Margaret Trotter, two very poor women, for going to the publick worſhip-houſe at Liſnegarvy, alias Liſburn in the county of Antrim, on the day called Chriſtmas-day, and ſaying theſe or the like words, 'Let them that keep a day, keep it to the Lord,' were fined by judge Kennedy, at the aſſizes at Carrickfergus, one hundred marks each, and committed to Carrickfergus gaol, where they continued priſoners above two years.

This year John Banks, from Pardſhaw in Cumberland, came into Ireland a ſecond time, having in the foregoing year viſited the northern parts of the nation in company with our ancient friend John Tiffin: he landed in Dublin the Third month, the morning the half-year's meeting began; and on the following Seventh-day of the week, in purſuance of a particular exerciſe upon his ſpirit to go to a certain place ſouthward from Dublin, in order to have a meeting there the next Firſt-day of the week, he went from Dublin to Wicklow, where no meeting of friends had been kept before. He, accompanied by two friends, went to an inn that night, and gave notice that he intended to have a meeting in that town next day, being the Firſt day of the week: ſo the report ſoon ſpread among the people, that an Engliſh Quaker was come to preach there: and there was a mighty noiſe of it in the place, the people being ſtirred up by the prieſt; and the governor, one Hamman, lived at the caſtle, where a garriſon of ſoldiers was then kept: the following part of this narrative I ſhall give in the ſaid John Bank's own words from his journal, viz.

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* John Lord Berkly, Baron Stratton.

'When I was ready to go from the inn where we lodged, the landlady ſaid to me,' 'For God's ſake go not along the ſtreet, for there is a guard of muſketeers waiting at the croſs to take you. I will ſhew you a back way;' I ſaid, 'I accept of thy love, but I muſt not go any private way, but along the town-ſtreet, for I have a teſtimony to bear for the Lord, in love to the ſouls of people.' So by that time we were well ſat down, before my mouth was opened, came a ſerjeant with a halbert and a guard of muſketeers, and ſaid to me, I muſt go along with him to the governor. I anſwered, 'What authority haſt thou to take me? if thou haſt a warrant ſo to do, I ſhall go.' He held out his halbert, and ſaid, 'This is my warrant.' I ſaid, 'You need not to have come to us with your ſwords and guns, as thoſe that came againſt Chriſt, with ſwords and ſtaves; we are known to be a peaceable people: howbeit I ſhall go with thee.' So they took me to a houſe where was the prieſt, his wife, the governor, &c. The prieſt was in a great rage when I came in, and ſaid to the governor, 'Sir, this is the deceiver, this is the deluder that is come from England, to delude the people here, I hope you will do juſtice and execute the law.' The governor being pretty moderate ſaid nothing for ſome time—and the people being in an uproar preſſed in at the door, and I being willing to let the prieſt rage on a little, till he had ſomething vented himſelf, that he might be more manifeſt to the people, at laſt ſaid to him, ‘ Thou ſayeſt I am a deceiver and a deluder :’ He anſwered in a great fury, ‘ So thou art, ſo thou art :’ but I ſaid, ‘ Have patience, and let thy moderation appear unto all men, and hear what I have to ſay to clear myſelf from thy falſe accuſation : for I ſhall not take thy aſſertion for proof : I have had patience to hear thee : art thou a miniſter of Chriſt ?’ ‘ Yes,’ ſaid he, ‘ I am.’ I replied, ‘ but if I prove thee a liar, as by the witneſs of this people thou art ; (in charging me with what thou canſt bring no proof for) and if ſo, thou art out of the doctrine of Chriſt, and ſo no miniſter of Chriſt, but of antichriſt, and ſo of thy father the devil, and therefore thou art the deceiver and the deluder of the people.’ Upon which the prieſt's mouth was ſtopped.’

And then John had an opportunity of declaring truth to the people ; yet the governor committed him and two more to priſon : but the gaoler was favourable, and gave them the liberty of a room, where the people followed, and John preached the way of life and ſalvation to them in and through Jeſus Chriſt, by believing in his pure light, and walking anſwerable to the teachings of his grace, and reproof of his Holy Spirit ; by which they might receive power to become the ſons of God, and ſeveral were convinced that day, and received truth in the love of it. He was kept in priſon three days, where there was a great reſort of people to ſee him, and to diſcourſe about the principles of religion. Then he returned to Dublin, and from thence travelled into the North, viſiting friends there ; and on his return to Dublin he went to Wicklow again, there being a letter from thence ſignifying that the people deſired another meeting, which, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the prieſt, was held there peaceably; and although the prieſt, as ſoon as he had opportunity, began to proſecute and impriſon friends for tithes, and ſuch like things, and got ſeveral put into priſon that came to viſit that place, yet truth proſpered, and a meeting was ſet up in that town, and ſtill continueth.

This year (1672) died in Cork, Suſanna Mitchell, of that city: ſhe was a zealous faithful ſervant of the Lord for many years till her deceaſe, and often bore a publick teſtimony to God's everlaſting truth before magiſtrates, prieſts, and people; for which ſhe was often a ſufferer in bonds, and rejoiced to be found worthy.

This year (1673) friends addreſſed the lord-lieutenant* and council for relief from their ſufferings on many occaſions, and particularly this, that whereas they durſt not on any account take an oath, as being forbidden by Chriſt, wicked men laid hold on this their conſcientious ſcruple to enſnare and defraud them, by cauſing them to be ſubpœnæd into chancery, where their anſwers without an oath would not be admitted; for inſtance, in the county of Wexford, Thomas Holme having about 200l. due to him from captain Thornhill, for which judgment was obtained againſt him in common law, was ſubpœnæd into chancery by the ſaid Thornhill, where he well knew Thomas could not anſwer upon oath, and ſo this friend loſt his debt: and in Dublin, James Fade having about 40l. due to him from one Ezekiel Webb, was by the ſaid Webb ſubpœnæd into chancery, and becauſe the friend could not give in his anſwer upon oath, he not only loſt the ſaid debt, but was conſtrained to give above 70l. to get clear of the debtor: and indeed this iniquity continued in practice, and friends were expoſed to ſufferings on this account, even until the reign of our late gracious ſovereign George the Firſt, when they were delivered from this yoke of oppreſſion.*

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* Arthur, Lord Capel, Earl of Eſſex.

About the ſame time friends met with great trouble and exerciſe at Cork, Dublin, and ſeveral other places, by reaſon of divers perſons that were gone into the looſe and fooliſh imaginations of Muggleton and others, and perverted into looſeneſs and indulgence of their carnal wills and affections from the croſs of Chriſt and ſelf-denial; but truth prevailed, and God gave an underſtading to place judgment upon them.

This year (1675) and about the fifty-fifth of his age, died Robert Sandham, of Youghal, a faithful elder, though not a miniſter. He was born at Woodcutt near Petworth, in the pariſh of Graffom and county of Suſſex, A.D. 1620, was of a pious diſpoſition from his youth, and joined himſelf in ſociety with the ſtricteſt ſort of Baptiſts, who were a perſecuted and tender people at that time; amongſt whom he underwent great mockings, ſtonings in the ſtreets, &c. and was very zealous in their way, travelling up and down on foot with their miniſters, inſomuch that he obtained the name of young Timothy; but in proceſs of time finding that this people whilſt they adhered to the form, had too much loſt the power that he firſt found among them, his anxious ſoul panted after ſome further manifeſtation, and a cloſer communion with his Maker.

In the year 1650 he came from England a lieutenant in colonel Sanders's regiment of foot, and arrived at Youghal, and in the year 1652, took to wife Deborah Baker of that town, then an Anabaptiſt, afterwards a faithful friend, of whom hereafter. He was convinced in the year 1655, by the miniſtry of a woman, viz. Elizabeth Fletcher, who preached in the ſtreets at Youghal. In the year 1661 he was impriſoned at Cork, for not ſwearing when ſummoned to be on a jury, and was fined five pounds, for which he had a horſe taken from him of more than twice that value.

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* See the year 1719.

In the year 1662, he was in great doubt whether he ſhould ſettle at Cork or Youghal. Cork yielded him a proſpect of the greateſt advantage as to the riches of this world, but Youghal was the place where it ſeemed to him he ſhould be the moſt ſerviceable as a Chriſtian, the meeting there being then but ſmall and weak, and upon ſome late occaſion grown weaker; whereas Cork meeting was ſtronger, having many faithful friends belonging to it: under this conſideration he gave up in faith to dwell in Youghal, truſting in God's providence as to his worldly ſupport. In the year 1663, a meeting was ſettled at his houſe; but perſecution followed; a centinel being ſet at his door to keep friends out, and their meetings were broken up by guards of ſoldiers, and Matthew Appleyard the governor, commanded him with his family to leave the town; but being a freeman, he aſſerted his liberty as ſuch, and refuſed to obey the governor's unjuſt command. The ſaid governor however, forcibly ſent him away with a guard of ſoldiers on foot (not ſuffering him to ride his own horſe, though he deſired it, being under ſome bodily infirmity), to Charleville, a journey of twenty-four miles, there to appear before Roger Boyle, lord preſident of Munſter, afterwards earl of Orrery, who when he had read his accuſation, finding him charged with nothing except concerning the law of his God, immediately ſet him at liberty; and he returned to Youghal, and continued to dwell there, undergoing with patience and courage, the reproaches and ſufferings that attended him for the exerciſe of a good conſcience; and a meeting was conſtantly kept at his houſe whilſt he lived, and after his death, at his widow's, until a meeting-houſe was built in that town, which was in the year 1681. He was juſt in his dealings among men, of a benevolent ſpirit, ready to do good to all, eſpecially thoſe of the houſehold of faith; zealous and firm in his teſtimony for Truth, againſt apoſtates, backſliders, and falſe brethren, and particularly againſt the erroneous and blaſphemous principles of Lodowick Muggleton, which prevailed on ſome, to their utter loſs as to truth. He was a ſharp reprover of diſorderly and unfaithful walkers, but a help to, and a ſtrengthener of weak brethren and the young convinced, by ſuitable counſel. He died in a ſenſible and reſigned frame of ſpirit.

This year (1676) Oliver Sanſom viſited friends in the work of the miniſtry, from whoſe journal the following paſſage will ſerve to give the reader a juſt idea of the devout diſpoſition of friends in thoſe days, viz.

‘ The general half-year's meeting at Dublin, began on the Fourth-day of the week, at the ninth hour in the morning, and the meeting for worſhip continued until after the firſt hour. About an hour after, friends met again in order to conſider of the affairs of the church: but the power of the Lord brake forth ſo mightily among friends in many teſtimonies, prayers and praiſes to the Lord, that there was no time to enter upon buſineſs that day, and ſo the meeting broke up. Next morning the meeting began again about the ninth hour, and continued until near the third hour in the afternoon, and a precious heavenly time it was. Then adjourning for one hour, friends came together again to go upon the buſineſs of the meeting: but then again the Lord's power mightily appeared, whereby many mouths were opened to declare of the goodneſs of the Lord, and to offer up prayers and praiſes to him, which took up the time of the meeting of that day alſo, ſo that very little could be done as touching buſineſs.

But early next morning friends went about the buſineſs of the meeting, and continued at it the greateſt part of that day, and the next day alſo, when it was concluded, viz. on the Seventh-day of the week, in the evening, having been generally carried on in much unity and harmony.'

The ſaid friend further relates, that beſides ſeveral publick meetings for worſhip, and ſome at friends houſes in Dublin, a meeting was alſo appointed for him at Chappel-izod, and held to good ſatisfaction, and another again a little while afterwards in the ſame place. He ſtaid four months in Ireland, and travelled 950 miles.

This year (1678) beſides ſeveral friends from England one Katharine Norton, alias M'Laughlin, travelled this nation in the ſervice of truth. Her maiden name was M'Laughlin; ſhe was born of Iriſh parents of account in or near Colerain; and was ſent to Londonderry for education, where ſhe remained for ſome time. When ſhe was ſixteen years of age, there came a ſhip to Derry to take in paſſengers for Barbadoes, which ſhe embarked in and landed in that iſland, where ſhe was married; and ſome time after, that iſland being viſited by George Fox and ſome others, ſhe was convinced by their miniſtry; and afterwards became an able miniſter, and in or about this year, 1678, came on truth's ſervice into the kingdom of Ireland. She viſited friends meetings in the North; preached in Lurgan market on a market-day in Iriſh; had ſeveral meetings near Colerain, where her relations lived, and ſeveral diſputes on the account of truth, which got the victory; from whence ſhe travelled to Armagh, Cavan, the Moate of Granoge; and had ſeveral meetings there and elſewhere, to the ſatisfaction and edification of friends; and ſome time after ſhe travelled to Dublin, and took ſhipping for England. She was well qualified for the ſervice, being of a ſound judgment, large in teſtimony, of a good utterance, had of her own to diſtribute, and did not make the goſpel chargeable.

This year (1679) Judith Boulby was here in Truth's ſervice, and being moved to go to Londonderry, having a particular meſſage to that place, ſhe publiſhed the ſame in their publick worſhip-houſe, and for ſo doing was impriſoned; but committed to writing, and left with them, the following lines:

A few words as a warning from the Lord to the Inhabitants of Londonderry, and alſo to the whole nation of Ireland.

'Oh, repent, repent! for a terrible day from the Lord is approaching, wherein the hearts of many ſhall fail, terror ſhall lay hold upon them, but they that fear the Lord ſhall daily renew their ſtrength. My bowels are troubled, I am pained as one to be delivered, or as one whom wine hath overcome, becauſe of the Lord, and becauſe of the word of his holineſs. Thus ſaith the Lord, "How long will you ſcorners delight in ſcorning, and you that hate knowledge harden yourſelves againſt God's reproof?" God's day is come, and woe to all the workers of iniquity. Woe is me; woe is me; for the miſery that is coming upon you. Your wound is hard to be cured; your phyſicians are phyſicians of no value; your watchmen are watchmen of the night. Oh nation, thy teachers have deceived thee, they have ſpoken a divination of their own brain, and not from the mouth of the Lord; they have cried Peace, Peace, when indeed, as the Scripture ſaith, "there is no peace to the wicked." The meſſenger of the new covenant hath been rejected by you, who hath long waited to be gracious. How hath the viſitation of his love been ſounded forth in your markets and in your ſtreets? But now the herald of God's wrath, a noiſe of confuſion, terror, and amazement, is even ready to enter into your borders; a bitter cup without mixture the Lord is handing forth unto the nations, and you muſt drink it, except high and low, rich and poor, repent ſpeedily. Oh, is there none to intercede for you, is there none to ſtand in the gap and ſtop the judgment, and ſtay the deſtroying angel, who is ready with the ſword in his hand to execute God's fierce wrath upon the nations; and though you have driven furiouſly againſt the Lord, and againſt his appearance in his people, the Lord God will ſtrike off your chariot-wheels; and that which is the joy, and comfort, and ſatisfaction of God's people, will be your woe and torment; it will be in you as a worm that will never die, it will gnaw you in your inward parts, and it will be in you as a fire that can never be quenched, until you know that the Moſt High rules in the kingdom of men, and gives them to whomſoever he pleaſeth. And you, O friends, who are put in power to be governors of this nation, O exerciſe it for God, and while you have a day, prize it, leſt that your power be given to others, and then the Scriptures be fulfilled upon you, where God ſaith, "I called, and ye refuſed; I have ſtretched forth my hand, and no man regarded; therefore will I laugh at your calamity, and mock when your fear cometh;" when tribulation ſhall come upon you as an armed man, then ſhall ye call, but the Lord will not anſwer, ye ſhall ſeek him early, but ſhall not find him, and then ſhall ye know that I have not written theſe lines of myſelf, but the Lord God hath ſent me to proclaim theſe things in your ears.

'Judith Boulby.'

7th Month, 1679.

This year (1680) died William Morris of Caſtleſalem in the county of Cork; who, though a man of great parts and wiſdom, was convinced of truth by a weak inſtrument. He was ſerviceable upon many occaſions with the government in appearing on behalf of ſuffering friends, though he was alſo divers times a ſufferer in bonds for his teſtimony. He wrote an excellent ſhort treatiſe entitled, Tithes no Goſpel Ordinance.*

This year (1682) friends of the three provinces made collections, and remitted to London the ſum of 333l. to be applied to the redemption of certain friends that were captives in Algiers, in conjunction with money collected in England for the ſame purpoſe; and 281l. was ſubſcribed here for the ſame uſe, in the year 1686.

In the ſame year (1682) Benjamin Bangs landed in Dublin, and travelled up and down in the work of the goſpel, and had great and good ſervice, many being convinced by means of his miniſtry. At Antrim, a place of great profeſſion, he had a meeting in the evening, to which a great many came, and ſome with a deſign to oppoſe him. The place was not large enough to contain the people; which occaſioned thoſe without to be very noiſy and turbulent, ſome of the ruder ſort pelting them with bits of dirt and turf, whilſt Benjamin was preaching: upon which he made a full ſtop, which occaſioned a general ſilence; and after a little time he ſaid, ‘ I underſtand this is a place of great profeſſion of religion; I am ſorry to ſee ſo much irreligion as appears amongſt you at this time, through your rude behaviour. It is not long ſince I came out of my native country, and I think it will not be long ere I return again, and then what ſhall I ſay of you to your poor ſuffering brethren in England?’ He relates that there was a dread upon them when he ſpoke theſe words, which alſo affected thoſe preſent, for many of them trembled and their faces gathered paleneſs. Upon which he adviſed them, if they had any regard to the reputation of religion, to enquire after thoſe that were the occaſion of theſe diſorders; for that ſuch behaviour was baſe and ſcandalous; and moreover he was moved to ſay, that "the time draws nigh that you will be blown away like chaff before the ſummer threſhing-floor, and the place of your meeting will not be found." After this ſome cried out in a Scottiſh tone, 'We be all aſhamed;' and getting out of the houſe, enquired after thoſe that were the occaſion of the diſorders. Some lads they got and beat; others that abſconded they took the names of: after which they had a ſolemn good meeting, the lively ſenſe of the love of God reached to the hearts of many preſent, and the meeting ended well. At this meeting was a young man, a Papiſt and ſervant to William Wilkinſon, convinced, as were many more elſewhere in the North, &c. He travelled through Ulſter, and ſeveral parts of Munſter and Leinſter, where he had many meetings, having departed from Dublin the 14th of the Ninth, and returned thither again the 25th of the Firſt month, 1683.

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* See a further account in 1656, page 104.

After the concluſion of the following third month's half-year's meeting, he intended to have returned to England; and in order to it had ſold his horſe, and prepared for the voyage, but the wind proving contrary, he could not get off; and beſides, he found ſome ſtop in himſelf, a further ſervice being preſented to his view, to which he gave up, though much contrary to his inclination, viz. It fell with ſome weight upon him to have a meeting at Tralee in the county of Kerry, where William Bingley had been: accordingly he ſet out from Dublin the 17th of the Third month, taking meetings in the way, and went to Cork, and from thence to Tralee, a journey of one hundred and fifty-eight miles, accompanied by John Hammond, Thomas Wight, and ſome others. He had a comfortable opportunity at Tralee, many hearts were tendered, the Lord's preſence attending and helping them; and after the meeting ended, the people withdrew in a ſolemn and peaceable manner. P. White, a man of note in the town, came and offered them his houſe to meet in, which they kindly accepted, as alſo of his invitation to dine with him next day, and parted with him in much friendſhip. After this he viſited ſeveral meetings in Leinſter province, and went to the North again. As he was going from Antrim to the Grange, he ſaw ten or twelve men upon the road, walking in a very ſolitary manner, and it aroſe in his heart, 'Theſe are ſheep having no ſhepherd.' When he came up to them, he ſlackened his pace and queried of them, 'What news?' The men were ſtartled at the queſtion, and anſwered, 'We know of none; continuing to go ſoftly, he ſaid, 'Are ye going to a meeting?' They anſwered, 'Our miniſter is ſilenced, for orders are come down commanding all diſſenters not to aſſemble, ſo now we have no teacher.' This brought to his remembrance what he had been concerned to deliver as above, at the evening meeting he had at Antrim, where he met with ſo much rudeneſs, viz. that the time draws nigh that "you will be blown away like chaff before the ſummer threſhing-floor, and the place of your meeting will not be found." At this time all diſſenters, except friends, had declined keeping up their meetings. Benjamin proceeded to diſcourſe with the men aforeſaid, and ſaid, "The hireling fleeth, becauſe he is a hireling and careth not for the ſheep," as it is ſaid, John x. 11, 12, 13. referring them to the text, further ſhewing that it is happy for thoſe that are come to the knowledge of that teacher which cannot be removed into a corner. God ſaid, he would teach his children himſelf, and the children of the Lord are taught of the Lord. See John vi. 45, and Iſaiah liv. 13. and you may read in the firſt epiſtle of John ii. 27. "The anointing which ye have received of him abideth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you, but as the ſame anointing teacheth you of all things," &c. And in Titus ii. 11, 12. "The grace of God which bringeth ſalvation, hath appeared unto all men, teaching us," &c. Here he directed them to the great heavenly Schoolmaſter, who ſaid, "Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart; follow me, and ye ſhall find reſt unto your ſouls." Mat. xi. 29. Thus labouring to bring them from their hireling teachers, to the teaching of God and Chriſt in themſelves, by which they might come to the knowledge of God and ways of his ſalvation, "For a manifeſtation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal," 1 Cor. xii. 7; adviſing them to turn their minds inward, and mind the ſecret operations of it, thereby they would find, through a lively experience, that it checks and reproves for bad words and actions; and as they turned to that, they would find it would lead them into all truth, with many more words to this effect. They were well pleaſed with this diſcourſe, declaring at parting that they had never heard things ſo opened to them in their lives.

The number of miles our ſaid friend Benjamin travelled in Ireland were one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-ſix; the number of meetings he had here, excluſive of Dublin, were one hundred and eighty; and he ſpent in this ſervice one year within a few days.

William Edmundſon and Robert Jackſon were put into the biſhop's court for tithes, excommunicated, taken with a writ and committed to priſon, and they were kept priſoners about twenty weeks. The lord of Ely interceding for their liberty, the biſhop ordered them to come to his court at Kildare; and accordingly they came, and there was the biſhop, about ten or twelve prieſts, the lord of Ely, and ſeveral other perſons of note, and dean Sing was chancellor of the court. The biſhop began to diſcourſe with William Edmundſon concerning tithes, which he was unwilling to enter upon, being ſenſible of his own weakneſs, but the biſhop urging it, a conference was commenced, which laſted three hours, and in a quiet manner without any other buſineſs, wherein wiſdom and underſtanding was given to William Edmundſon, and ſcriptures brought fluently into his memory; ſo that he proved tithes to be ended, and that it was antichriſtian to pay or receive them in goſpel times, which was opened ſo clearly to the underſtandings of the people, that there ſeemed to be great ſatisfaction in the court; and dean Sing ſtood up before them all and ſaid, if he had known W. Edmundſon as well before as now, he ſhould not have ſuffered; with ſeveral other expreſſions of kindneſs.

Several other matters were alſo then diſcourſed of, and queries anſwered in relation to goſpel-miniſters, the Chriſtian religion, faith, and the true worſhip of God, to the ſatisfaction of thoſe preſent; and the biſhop, ordering the two friends to appear at the next court, wrote to the ſheriff to let them have their liberty till then; and at the next court he wrote again to the ſheriff, to diſcharge them out of priſon, which was readily done: thus this ſuffering and conference had a good effect; and afterwards both the biſhop and officers of that court were kind to friends.

This year (1683) died Robert Cuppage of Lambſtown in the county of Wexford, a man of an exemplary life and converſation, who loved truth, and had a ſound teſtimony for it, and lived in it as well as preached it to others.

About the middle of this ſummer the government gave order to the ſeveral ſorts of diſſenters in Dublin, that they ſhould forbear meeting publickly together in their worſhip houſes as formerly. The archbiſhop of Dublin alſo ſent for Anthony Sharp, and told him it was the mind and deſire of the government that friends ſhould alſo forbear meeting in their meeting-houſes; but Friends returned anſwer, that they believed it was their indiſpenſible duty to meet together to worſhip the great God of heaven and earth, from whom we receive all our mercies, and not to forbear aſſembling ourſelves together for fear of puniſhment from men, for that we met purely to worſhip the Lord, and not upon any other account. So according to the deſire of the government, other profeſſors generally left their meeting-houſes, but Friends met together to worſhip the Lord as formerly, as they were perſuaded it was their duty to do: ſo upon a Firſt-day in the Sixth month this year came the marſhal and ſeveral of the mayor's officers to the meeting at Wormwood gate; where John Burnyeat being ſpeaking, the marſhal commanded him to go with him, which after ſome diſcourſe he did. He commanded the meeting to diſperſe, but friends kept quiet in their places. John was carried before the mayor, with whom he had ſome diſcourſe to this effect: he aſked him, why they did act contrary to the government, having been commanded not to meet? John anſwered, 'We do nothing in contempt of the government.' 'But,' ſaid he, 'why do you not obey then?' John replied, 'becauſe it is matter of conſcience to us, and that which we believe to be our indiſpenſible duty, to meet together to worſhip God.' To which he anſwered, 'You may be miſled;' John told him, 'If we are miſled, we are willing to be informed, if any can do it.' Then it was urged, other diſſenters had ſubmitted, and why would not we? John ſaid, 'What they do will be no plea for us before the judgment-ſeat of the great God.' So after ſome other diſcourſe, the mayor committed John to the marſhalſea priſon, to which alſo were taken afterwards Alexander Seaton, Anthony Sharp, and others.

Now ſeveral ſober perſons obſerving other profeſſors to ſhrink in this time of perſecution, whilſt Friends kept their meetings as uſual, came to our meetings and became faithful friends.

The conſideration of the great ſufferings that were upon Friends in England for their innocent teſtimony towards God, whereby many of them were brought into great neceſſity and affliction by the ravenous hands of wicked informers and violent perſecutors, being before the national meeting, a collection for their relief was ordered from the ſeveral provinces.

Now, as well as before, alſo in this nation Friends were not exempt from ſuffering on account of their non-payment of tithes, &c. and the unreaſonableneſs of the fees and coſts of the biſhop's court; on which occaſion they petitioned the lord-lieutenant and council.

This year (1684) was publiſhed an account of Friends' ſufferings on the occaſions aforeſaid, and ordered to be ſent into the ſeveral provinces.

Likewiſe this year, Thomas Ellwood's book, called A Diſſuaſive from Perſecution, was printed at a national charge.

The ſame year died Thomas Carleton, at Ballynacarrick in the county of Wicklow, who was convinced in Cumberland about the year 1663, before which he underwent great conflicts of ſoul, which I ſhall deſcribe in his own words from one of his treatiſes, viz.

'I was early viſited by the love and tender mercy of the Lord, which often preſented unto me my ſtate and manner of life, and by the ſame love and light he made known unto me that his way and worſhip was a purer, holier way and cleaner life than I had yet attained unto. Thus I was induced to ſeek after the Lord; I read and ſearched the Scriptures with much diligence and zeal, and gave myſelf up to hear ſermons, ſearch catechiſms, &c. was often toſſed in myſelf like reſtleſs waves in a troubled ſea, not feeling peace nor ſtability. I often beſought the Lord in contrition of ſpirit, to clear my underſtanding and judgment, and make me to know his living way, truth, and people, ſects and opinions then abounding, one ſaying, Lo, Chriſt is here, another, Lo, he is there; every denomination conſtruing, wreſting, and interpreting the Scriptures to their ſundry tenets, and forcing meanings from them to anſwer their principles, and to maintain every of their interpretations as authentic truths; in all which I was as one without foundation, toſſed with every of their windy doctrines; but it ſtill reſted with me, that man was created for God's glory, I being ever and anon judged and condemned in myſelf for ſin and diſobedience; for the law was come by which is the knowledge of ſin, and the commandment being come, ſin revived and I died as it were; then ſin by the commandment became exceeding ſinful, and then I was driven to ſeek for peace night and day, early and late, in publick and private faſtings, feaſtings, family devotions, &c. running from one houſe, town, aſſembly, and worſhip to another, ſeeking the word of the Lord in all their ſabbaths, lectures, humiliations, or thankſgivings, diligently obſerving every ordinance in which the miniſter ſaid, God was to be found, and all to obtain peace with my Maker; but it fled from me, nor was to be found amongſt them.

'At length, after much humiliation, contrition, and diſtreſs, it pleaſed the Father to reveal his Son in me; and by his light that gives the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of his Son Jeſus Chriſt, 2 Cor. iv. 6. he was pleaſed to give me a glimpſe of the heavenly land, and of the way to the kingdom of God, which I ſaw to be in and through the light of Chriſt Jeſus, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world, as it was then preached and teſtified by the ſervants of the Lord; a meaſure of which I felt in myſelf, which told me all that ever I did, ſecretly condemning every work in me, with every word that was contrary to the will and mind of the Father: and alſo juſtifying every word and work that was according to his will. Thus the Lord having opened my underſtanding, and given me in meaſure a feeling of himſelf, I was forced to conclude (as the woman of Samaria did) that this was the Chriſt, this was the way, this was the truth; as by daily experience I found, by the operation of the light in my own heart, compared with the teſtimony that the ſaints and ſervants of God had given in ages paſt; and thus in the mouths of two or three witneſſes this teſtimony was eſtabliſhed and confirmed in me. But ſtill how to receive and give obedience to it, I knew not, the enemy often raiſing doubts and fears in me, and the warfare between the fleſh and ſpirit was great. I ſaw that I ſhould never find peace nor reconciliation with the Lord, until I gave obedience to the light, and came into ſociety with the children of light, and to the worſhip that ſtood in ſpirit; contrary to all the ways, worſhips and ſervices of the world, ſet up in the wills and limitations of men, which I ſaw to be only formal and traditional, and no leſs than idolatry, as they then ſtood in the will-worſhip, being preſcribed and ſet forth at the wills and pleaſures of men, and eſtabliſhed by the then preſent powers, government and authority; as the Independent Church Faith, the Preſbyterian Directory, and the Common Prayer Book of the Epiſcopals may fully teſtify; none being to queſtion or object againſt any thing that was or is believed by their ſeveral churches and aſſemblies, or preſcribed by their rules or canons, directories or ſervice-books (though never ſo much diſſatisfied in conſcience), without undergoing the cenſures or abjudications of their particular ſocieties. But they that are come to the light and liberty of the ſons of God, and to live and walk in the Spirit, by the Spirit, they know the anointing which abideth in them, and is truth and no lie, which teacheth them in all things to follow the Lamb only, whitherſoever he goes, and the leadings of his Spirit, and not the formal traſh and traditional precepts of men; and ſo they are ceaſed from man and his teachings, knowing the Lord is come to teach his people himſelf; whereof I being perſuaded in my own heart, was at length conſtrained to yield and reſign myſelf unto the will of the Lord.' So far Thomas Carleton, reſpecting himſelf: let us now hear teſtimony of the brethren concerning him.

He came to Ireland about the year 1673, was a very zealous, honeſt friend, and an able miniſter; having a divine gift to adminiſter from, in the exerciſe of which he was very ſerviceable; both for the convincing of many who were ſtrangers to the way of the Lord, and for the edifying, building up and provoking to diligence, thoſe already convinced. He was a man of a good underſtanding and clear diſcerning, yet of a lowly mind, and ready to prefer others before himſelf. He uſually ſtood up in great fear and dread, when he was exerciſed under the powerful word of life. He was valiant in aſſerting and defending truth againſt the oppoſition of its enemies, and patient in ſuffering for it, as appears from a ſmall tract he published, entituled, The Captive's Complaint, or the Priſoner's Plea againſt the burthenſome and contentious title of tithes, &c. wherein are laid down ſeveral grounds and reaſons againſt the propriety and payment of tithes in this evangelical day and diſpenſation. He alſo publiſhed ſome other ſmall pieces, and particularly an excellent general epiſtle of admonition and advice to Friends in Ireland and elſewhere.

Whilſt other diſſenters on occaſion of the prohibition lately mentioned, 1685, left their uſual meeting-houſes and met more privately, Friends ſtill continued both their public meetings for the worſhip of Almighty God, and thoſe for Chriſtian diſcipline, and great unity and peace was amongſt them; great numbers alſo of other people came to our publick meetings, and Friends gained credit among many ſober perſons, notwithſtanding the prejudice and railing of the other diſſenters who fled into corners.

There being a great reſort to our meetings about this time (1687) one James Barry an independent preacher raged, and in his public preaching greatly railed againſt friends: hereupon ſeveral of his hearers, like the ancient noble Bereans, came to Friends' meetings to be ſatisfied whether his accounts were true or no; and by the miniſtry of John Burnyeat and others, their prejudices were removed, they were convinced and joined to Friends, and became very ſerviceable afterwards.

At this time alſo, viz. under king James, the government having made choice of ſome friends to ſerve in corporations, and as magiſtrates, and ſome few having accepted thereof, though it was not of their own ſeeking, a paper of tender advice was drawn up, by order of a general meeting, to friends who were ſo concerned, to keep to the truth in every thing: that they might ſhine as lights to the world, and be helpful to bring forth juſtice, judgment, and righteouſneſs. And

On this occaſion George Fox wrote a letter to William Edmundſon, dated from Kingſton upon Thames, 1687, to this purpoſe:

'Dear William,

'As for thoſe friends of Dublin, Cork, Limerick, and other places that have taken thoſe offices of aldermen and burgeſſes upon them, they muſt conſider and be wiſe; for if they keep to truth, they can neither take any oaths, nor put any oaths to any one, neither can they put on their gowns and ſtrange kind of habits, as friends have conſidered it here when they talk of putting them in ſuch places; and again, when they have the aldermen, or mayors or common-council feaſts, friends here cannot join them in ſuch things; but if they will make the poor a feaſt that cannot feaſt you again, friends have proffered themſelves to join with them; but to feaſt them that will feaſt you again, and to join with them in their ſtrange kind of habits and formalities, is not like truth, that denies the pomps and faſhions of this world: but in their places they ſhould do juſtice to all men, and be a terror to them that do evil, and a praiſe to them that do well, and preſerve every man both in his natural rights and properties, and in his divine rights and liberty, according to the righteous law of God, &c.

'George Fox.'

The latter end of this year (1688) a war broke forth in this nation, threatening a general overthrow of all the Engliſh and Proteſtants, and in that frightful time many of theſe left their dwellings, ſtocks, and flocks, and fled, ſome to England, and ſome to arms; but friends generally kept their places, and kept up their meetings, and truſted the Lord with their lives and ſubſtance, that rules all things in heaven and earth, and bounds the ſea, and the raging waves thereof, though under great perils of divers ſorts, by reaſon of multitudes of wicked, unmerciful, blood-thirſty men banded together; and friends in ſome places became great ſuccourers to ſome of the diſtreſſed Engliſh that had their houſes burnt, and were themſelves driven out of their places, being ſtript of their ſubſtance; and a remarkable thing never to be forgotten was, that they that were in government then ſeemed to favour us, and endeavour to preſerve friends.

But notwithſtanding all endeavours uſed, friends ſuſtained great loſſes, and went through many perils by the outrageous rabble and plunderers of the country beſides the hardſhips by the army: ſo that many loſt moſt of their viſible ſubſtance, and ſome were ſtript naked, and their houſes and dwellings were ſet on fire over their heads, and burnt to the ground, and their lives were in ſuch danger, that it ſeemed almoſt impoſſible that they ſhould be preſerved; yet in the midſt of ſuch lamentable exerciſes, the Lord's eminent hand of deliverance wonderfully appeared to their great admiration and comfort.

In the Third month, this year (1689) accounts were ſent up to the national meeting, of the ſufferings of friends in ſeveral parts of the nation, by robberies and ſpoils by ſoldiers and other people, and the loſſes ſuſtained by friends of the province of Leinſter appeared to be above 900l.

Hereupon friends made application to king James, who received them kindly, and promiſed that he would take a particular care that they ſhould be protected.

Notwithſtanding it was with great hazard of their lives that friends from divers parts came to the national meeting; yet ſuch at that time was their zeal for the Lord's ſervice, their faith and confidence in his providential care, and their fervent deſire of renewed edification, that all the frightful commotions and threatening dangers of thoſe days, could not prevent their keeping up this and other meetings.

The national meeting was now pretty much taken up in conſidering the diſtreſſed condition of their brethren through the nation, and ordering convenient ſupplies.

At the next half-year's meeting in the Ninth month, it appeared that the loſſes of friends being ſtill continued and increaſed, thoſe of the friends of the provinces of Leinſter and Munſter amounted to above 7000l. ſterling; and in the year 1692, it was computed that the loſſes of friends throughout the nation amounted in the whole to 100,000l.

Now the friends of the Meeting for ſufferings in London, ſympathizing with their brethren here, did ſignify their readineſs to aſſiſt them; to which the half-year's meeting returned anſwer, acknowledging their tender care, however at preſent they rather choſe to decline the acceptance of their friendly offer, the ſeveral provinces being as yet able to help one another. However Friends here did afterwards accept of the benevolence of the brethren in England, and in the year 1692, they drew for ſix hundred pounds towards helping friends here reduced by the late calamitous times, beſides one hundred and fifty pounds remitted from London to Ulſter, and the ſum of one thouſand and ſixty pounds more was ſent for this purpoſe, from London, which in the year 1692, was ordered to be diſtributed proportionally to each province, and a letter was ſent to the Meeting for ſufferings in London, acknowledging their acceptance hereof, but withal deſiring that a full ſtop ſhould be put to their ſending any more.

Thus in thoſe calamitous times were Friends very nearly united in affection; and even from the Friends of Barbadoes there was 100l. ſent for the relief of Friends here on this occaſion.

This year (1689) king James landing in the South, and coming up to Dublin, the Proteſtants came to be a little quieter, and better ſettled in their minds, nor ſo fearful of a maſſacre as formerly; but ſtill great havock was made upon the ſtock of Engliſhmen, their cattle, &c. being moſtly taken or killed, oftentimes more on purpoſe for deſtruction than for want; and friends underwent thoſe abuſes in common with other Proteſtants.

Here follows a particular account of the ſufferings and preſervation of friends in thoſe days.

1. At the town of Cavan (a place that lay open to both the armies, and to the cruelty of the wicked rabble), ſeveral friends kept their places and dwellings, and held their uſual meetings, and though

ſometimes in ſkirmiſhes between the two armies many were ſlain, yet friends' lives were wonderfully preſerved, though in their outward ſubſtances they were ſpoiled and ſtripped, and at laſt commanded by the chief officer of the Iriſh army to depart, and their houſes were burnt.

2. At Old Caſtle, a place liable to the like perils, a few friends dwelt, who kept up their little meetings, (which belonged to Cavan monthly meeting) and continued there; their lives were alſo wonderfully preſerved.

3. Near Charlemont, in the county of Tyrone, friends thereabouts generally kept their places, and particularly John Whiteſide, whoſe family wonderfully eſcaped the hands of cruelty with their lives, being in imminent danger often by the Rapparees, and dwelling between two garriſons, one Engliſh and the other Iriſh, who had hot diſputes, killing each other at his very houſe; and once there were ſeven hundred Iriſh, to ſixty Engliſh and French by computation; one of his out-houſes was burnt, and he and his ſon lying ſick in another ſo near, that it was admirable both it and they were not burnt; and yet the Iriſh were forced to withdraw, who plundered Friends and burnt their houſes.

4. One Thomas Greer, a friend, loſt his life by a ſhot made into his mother's houſe in the night, by a parcel of Rapparees coming to rob the houſe, as was ſuppoſed; and friends of Ulſter have left this teſtimony concerning the ſaid Thomas Greer, that he was an honeſt friend, and zealous for truth.

5. Near Edenderry (an open place much expoſed to the Rapparees) Friends were greatly ſpoiled in their flocks and ſtocks, and outward ſubſtance, but their lives were wonderfully preſerved, though the bloody ravenous Rapparees broke in upon the town one night, and burnt part of it, and killed ſome of the inhabitants.

6. At and near Roſſenallis, in the Queen's county (a place that lay open to the like cruel ſort of men), William Edmundſon and ſeveral other friends kept their places; though under great exerciſes, and troubles of divers ſorts, and perils too tedious here to mention; till ſuch time as a great party of Rapparees came in the night to ſaid William's houſe, he and his family being in bed, and with great violence fell upon his houſe, and ſeveral other houſes thereabouts, and ſet his houſe on fire over his head, firing ſeveral vollies of ſhot in at the windows; and took himſelf and his two ſons bare-legged and bare-headed, and not ſo much other clothes as to ſave their bodies from the cold, and hurried them that night through buſhes and bogs, mire and water, up to their knees, in cold weather, being the latter end of the Ninth month, about five or ſix miles, to a wood, where William Edmundſon was ſentenced to be ſhot to death, and his two ſons to be hanged; and yet ſeveral of them owned that he was an honeſt man, for he had often exerted himſelf to prevent men of their party from being wronged and abuſed by the other, and ſometimes with the hazard of his own life among the Engliſh ſoldiers; notwithſtanding which they hoodwinked his ſons to hang them, and having prepared two firelocks to ſhoot him, they hoodwinked him alſo; but William told them they needed not, for he could look them in the faces, and was not afraid to die. Now all things being prepared to effect their purpoſe, they were divided among themſelves, and another party came in, who reſcued them all three from thoſe that were going to execute them, and took them in a hungry cold condition to Athlone, where colonel Grace was governor; and the people having had notice of their coming, thouſands of the worſt ſort of the Iriſh were gathered in the great ſtreet of that town, and one Nugent, high-ſheriff of that county animated them, ſo that it was a wonder that both

William and his ſons were not ſlain; but in the interim it ſo happened that an officer, and a goodly perſon of great preſence, thruſt through the crowd of that rabble, and came to William, who was wrapped about with a piece of an old blanket, aſking him how he did; and then turned to the rabble, telling them he knew William to be an honeſt man, ſpeaking it ſeveral times over, with ſome other words in his favour, which quaſhed the rage of both ſheriff and rabble: thus the Lord provided help in great ſtreights and perils; then the ſaid William and his ſons were taken to the caſtle, where the governor and many of the field and chief officers of the Iriſh army were met in council, and there were examined; and when they underſtood the ſtate of the caſe, there ſeemed to be a ſorrow amongſt them for the whole action, and the governor, who had been formerly acquainted with the ſaid William, ſtood up in a reverend manner, and ſaid with tears in his eyes, that he was ſorry to ſee him there in that condition, and if he had the Rapparees that burnt his houſe, he would cauſe them to be hanged.

At this time John Clibborn hearing of the diſtreſs of W. E. went to viſit him, and ſupplied him with neceſſaries; and afterwards, upon giving ſecurity for the ſaid William Edmundſon, prevailed on the governor to let him and his ſons go with him to his houſe at the Moate; and in a little time after they were ſet at liberty.

7. At Moate Granoge, John Clibborn aforeſaid, at whoſe houſe a meeting was ſettled by turn, kept his place long in much danger, and ſo did moſt friends of that meeting, which they ſtill kept up in great difficulty, it lying but ſix miles from Athlone, then a chief Iriſh garriſon, and a noted place of refuge, from whence did often ſcout parties that made great ſpoil upon the country, and whereunto the bloody Rapparees uſually led ſuch Engliſh as they caught, and

carried from their own houſes, whom they were not permitted barbarouſly to murder as they had done many.

Whilſt the ſaid John Clibborn could poſſibly keep his houſe, it was open to all, and a ſuccour to many, both friends and others, and in times of great ſkirmiſhes and ſlaughter he did not flee till at length moſt hardly uſed, plundered and quite ſpoiled in his outward ſubſtance. He was taken by the hair of his head by the Rapparees, who plundered his houſe in the night, threatening to cut his head off; and at laſt he and other friends were driven from their places, and their houſes were burnt.

8. Anthony Robinſon and John Miller, dwelling three miles from Athlone, had their houſes plundered by the Iriſh, and afterwards they and their families were threatened to be murdered; had not an Iriſh juſtice of peace's wife, a near neighbour, appeared for them, and took them in till the party was ſo inſolent, and ready to break in, that ſhe counted ſhe could not ſave them, upon which, running to them, ſhe deſired them to eſcape with their lives if they could, and conveyed them into her garden, and thence they made hard ſhift to get into a wood hard by, and there hid themſelves ſome days and nights in a diſtreſſed condition, ſought for and hunted by the blood-thirſty Iriſh Rapparees, but their lives were miraculouſly preſerved, and with great difficulty they got to the aforeſaid John Clibborn's houſe at the Moate.

9. Mountmelick and Montrath, two country unwalled towns (where two conſiderable meetings of Friends have been ſettled), by reaſon of their bordering upon the bogs and mountains, often had great ſtore of the bloody ravenous Rapparees haunting them; and being places of little or no defence, Friends that dwelt in them ſuſtained a large ſhare of the many hardſhips of the calamitous times, and were greatly

exerciſed under a concern both for their families and neighbours, ſtill keeping up their meetings with an eye to the Lord, who did not leave nor forſake his people in their many trials, but wonderfully provided for them; ſo that it is to be admired how their little proviſion for their families held out, conſidering how their houſes were filled with people, and many alarms came from the Iriſh, threatening to deſtroy thoſe places, and kill all the Engliſh.

10. Cloncourſe, a loneſome place, where Chriſtopher Raper dwelt, having ſome walls of defence, and a ſmall Engliſh garriſon of ſoldiers being there, was a little ſhelter to a ſmall number of friends who dwelt near it, and uſed to meet by turns in that place, who ſuffered great hardſhips, having loſt moſt of what outward ſubſtance they had, and proviſions being ſcanty, were viſited with a peſtilential fever, and they were greatly ſtreightened for room.

11. James Hutchinſon dwelt at Knockballymagher, near Cloncourſe, and kept his place till a party of Rapparees, with ſome of the Iriſh ſtanding army, came in the day-time, plundered and burnt his houſe, took him, and a few Engliſh tenants of his, priſoners, forcing him over the Shannon about fifteen miles, and there treated him very coarſely, and compelled him to ranſome his life, and then let him go in great hazard. (By the way, ſeveral Engliſh, both friends and others, met with ſuch like uſage in thoſe times). His houſe had been of great uſe to the Engliſh.

12. Gerſhon Boat, dwelling at Borriſaleagh, remote from friends, and ten miles from any meeting, in a place of ſome ſtrength, ſuffered many hardſhips, and eſcaped many dangers, both at home, and on the road going to meetings; his houſe being often ſet upon by the Iriſh, both of the army and tories, but was wonderfully delivered out of their hands, and many Engliſh families, both prieſts and others, were ſuccoured there, and helped on their way (when

coming from about the river Shannon, and going to Caſhel and Clonmel) who had been much ſpoiled and ſtripped in the Iriſh quarters where they dwelt: he kept his place till general Dayly placed a garriſon at his houſe or caſtle, and then with great difficulty and danger removed his family to Montrath aforeſaid, to live or die with Friends, times looking very diſmal.

Theſe particulars may ſhew the eminent providential hand of the Lord over Friends, and his care and kindneſs to preſerve them in the midſt of ſuch great perils, and many more might be inſtanced; and though in thoſe times many of the Engliſh neighbours fell by the hands of thoſe bloody murderers, yet we know but of four that we could own to be of our ſociety in all the nation that fell by the hands of cruelty, and two of them too forwardly ventured their lives when they were loſt.

And beſides all this, at the return of the armies to winter-quarters, the country was filled with violent ſickneſs, which took away many of all ſorts; and ſeveral that were driven away from their habitations, and had loſt moſt of their ſubſtance, though they yet had left wherewithal to ſupport nature for the preſent, ſeemed to grieve at their loſſes and low eſtates, and ſo languiſhed and died; which Friends were greatly ſupported over, having an eye to the Lord, who not only gives but takes, or ſuffers to be taken away.

Now it pleaſed the Lord in mercy (and for a remnant's ſake no doubt) to ſhorten thoſe times of great exerciſes, that they were moſtly ended in leſs than three years; and Friends generally were low in their minds, and their hearts open one to another, ſo that thoſe who had ſomething left, were willing to communicate to thoſe that were in want, and friends that were driven from their dwellings did generally return to their places; and the national men's meeting took care that in every quarter Friends ſhould be ſupplied for the preſent with ſuch neceſſaries as time and their abilities did afford; and great care was taken in friends ſettling, that they might ſettle near together for the benefit of meetings to ſerve the Lord.

And it is remarkable that Friends meetings were preſerved peaceable, and that they kept their meetings according to the uſual manner for the worſhip of God, without much diſturbance from either party, as alſo their men and women's meetings for church diſcipline, both monthly, provincial, and national meetings; though many times friends went to them in great perils by reaſon of the Rapparees, who in many places waylaid people to rob and murder them; and the Lord was pleaſed to accompany them in their meetings with his glorious heavenly preſence;* and truth gained ground, and Friends came more in eſteem than formerly in the minds of many, both rulers and people, through their innocent wiſe deportment in the fear of God.

William the Third having been proclaimed king of England, France, and Ireland, came over this year, 1690; and, having routed king James's forces at the battle of the Boyne, became the happy inſtrument of delivering this kingdom from the impending danger of popery and arbitrary power, and of eſtabliſhing liberty of conſcience by law.

It is true that the people called Quakers did enjoy the liberty of holding their meetings for the worſhip of God according to their conſciences, during the preſence of king James in Ireland, as well as that their brethren in England had been by him ſet at liberty from their impriſonment, and that king James on that occaſion did declare, that it was always his principle that conſcience ought not to be forced, but that all men ought to have the liberty of their conſciences;† however, as Sewel obſerves, 'perhaps that prince did not conſider that if ſuch a general liberty had been procured, he ſhould not have been able to have made it continue longer than the popiſh clergy would have thought it convenient; and though the king's intention might really have been ſincere, yet it is likely it might have been thwarted, though he might have been willing it ſhould have been otherwiſe. And time hath ſhewn that king James was not to be the happy inſtrument of ſettling liberty of conſcience upon a laſting foundation, but that this work was reſerved for that great prince, king William, who being born in a country where force upon conſcience was abrogated, when a Proteſtant government was ſettled there, now alſo introduced the like Chriſtian liberty in England.*

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* The words of Thomas Wight.

† Sewel's Hiſtory of the Quakers, Vol. II. page 439.

This year (1690) died George Gregſon, at his houſe in Liſnegarvy in the county of Antrim. He was born a Papiſt, in Lancaſhire, as I am aſſured, but being convinced of truth, continued faithful in his teſtimony for the ſame, patiently bearing the falſe and malicious reports of wicked and envious men, he being from the time of his convincement, the butt of their hatred and envy; but he was valiant and undaunted in his teſtimony, chuſing rather to ſuffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleaſures of ſin for a ſeaſon, looking at the recompence of reward and yielding obedience to the Lord's power, whereby he was enabled to declare unto others what God had done for his ſoul, and his miniſtry was effectual to the convincing of many of the evil of their ways, and manifeſting unto them the way of life and ſalvation. He was endowed with a great gift of underſtanding as well as utterance. He was particularly concerned for the youth, and the newly convinced, and for the children of believing parents, that they might not content themſelves with a bare profeſſion of the truth which they had received by education and tradition, but that they might come to witneſs the waſhing of regeneration, and the being renewed thereby. He travelled in the work of the miniſtry in this nation, as alſo in England, and ſuffered impriſonment and the ſpoiling of his goods, for the truth's ſake. He retained, in old age, his zeal for God and love to the brethren, which he manifeſted by leaving a conſiderable part of his outward ſubſtance to ſeveral meetings of Friends in this nation, and alſo to Friends in Lancaſhire.

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* Sewel, Vol. II. page 439.

This year alſo died, that eminent and faithful ſervant of the Lord, John Burnyeat, who was born in Cumberland, and was brought forth early in the day of the breaking forth of God's light and power in our age, which many waited for, and were in readineſs to receive, with joy and gladneſs of heart; among whom was this our friend, whoſe convincement and ſpiritual exerciſe thereupon, as he hath himſelf deſcribed it in his own journal, I ſhall here preſent the reader with ſomewhat abridged, but his own words retained, viz.

'In the year 1653, it pleaſed the Lord to ſend his faithful ſervant George Fox and others into the North parts of England, and by the means of their miniſtry to diſcover the right path of life unto thouſands that were in error, ſeeking the Lord, but not knowing where to find him, although he was not far from us; namely, by directing us unto the true light and appearance of Chriſt Jeſus our Saviour in our own hearts, that we might come to know him and the glory of the Father, through him in his appearance, and ſo come to believe in him with the heart, and with the mouth confeſs him unto ſalvation; and God by this the light of his bleſſed Son, which he had lighted me withal, let me ſee the body of death and power of ſin which reigned in me, and brought me to feel the guilt of it upon my conſcience, ſo that he made me as it were to poſſeſs the ſins of my youth. And now all that I had builded for ſeveral years; and particularly my high profeſſion and conceit of an imputative righteouſneſs, and that though I lived in the act of ſin, the guilt of it ſhould not be charged upon me, but imputed to Chriſt, and his righteouſneſs imputed to me; was now, by the ſhinings of the diſcovering light, ſeen to be but a Babel-tower which God brought confuſion upon; a preſumption and invention of my own; or but like Adam's fig-leaved apron, in which he could not abide God's coming. I then came to ſee that the guilt of ſin remained while the body of death remained, and led into the act of ſin: then began the warfare of true ſtriving to enter the kingdom; then Paul's ſtate was ſeen, wherein to will was preſent, but to do, many times power was wanting; then confuſion, amazement, horror, and diſtreſs beſet me. O the poverty and want that my ſoul ſaw itſelf in, through the ſpringings of the diſcovering light, which alſo manifeſted the exceeding ſinfulneſs of ſin, and the load and burthen of it became exceeding grievous, and all the pleaſure of it was taken away from me and many more in that day; and then we began to mourn for a Saviour, and cry for a helper and healer; for the day of the Lord that made deſolate had overtaken us, and the fire and ſword that Chriſt brings upon earth, by which he takes away peace, had reached unto us. We often aſſembled together, as the Lord's meſſengers had exhorted us, and minded the light of Chriſt in our hearts and what that diſcovered, and through its aſſiſtance warred and watched againſt the evil ſeen therein, and according to that underſtanding received, waited therein upon the Lord, to ſee what he would further manifeſt, with a holy reſolution to obey his will ſo far as we were able, whatſoever it coſt us. We valued not the world, nor any glory nor pleaſure therein, in compariſon of our ſoul's redemption from that horror and terror we were in, under the indignation of the Lord, becauſe of the guilt of ſin that was upon us; and ſo being given up to bear the indignation of the Lord, becauſe we had ſinned, we endeavoured to wait until it would be over, and the Lord in mercy would blot out the guilt which occaſioned wrath, and ſprinkle our hearts from an evil conſcience, and waſh us with pure water, that we might draw near with a pure heart, in the full aſſurance of faith, as the Chriſtians of old did (Heb. x. 22): and waiting in the way of the Lord's judgments, we began to learn righteouſneſs, and ſtrongly to deſire to walk therein, and could no longer be ſatisfied with a talk thereof. And when we were in our deep fears, and our minds not well acquainted with either right ſtriving out of ſelf, in the light and ſeed of life that doth prevail and give the entrance, or true waiting or ſtanding ſtill, out of our own thoughts, willings and runnings which do not obtain, the Lord ſent his ſervants who had learned of him, to direct us in what to wait, and how to ſtand ſtill, out of our own thoughts and ſelf-ſtrivings, in the light that did diſcover, and dwell in the judgment that we received therein; and by them our underſtandings were informed, and we got to ſome degree of ſtayedneſs in our minds, which before had been as the troubled ſea; and a hope began to appear in us, and we met together often, and waited to ſee the ſalvation of God which we had often heard of, that he would work by his own power; and after we had met together for ſome time as we had ſeaſons and opportunities, and alſo ſought the Lord with travailing ſpirits both night and day, when we were at our callings and upon our beds, being in our aſſemblies exerciſed in the living judgment that ſprung in the light in our ſouls, and looking for the ſalvation of God, the wonderful power from on high was revealed amongſt us, and many hearts reached therewith, and melted and broken; and great dread and trembling fell upon many, and the very chains of death were broken thereby, and the promiſes of the Lord ſpoken of by Iſaiah the prophet, xlix. 9. and xlii. 7. and lxi. 1, 2, 3. were fulfilled unto many, and a heavenly gladneſs entered the hearts of many, who in the joy of their hearts broke forth in praiſes unto the Lord. The ſame Comforter our bleſſed Lord had promiſed, John xiv. being now come and received, did teach us to know the Father and the Son. Then were our hearts inclined to hearken unto the Lord, and our ears, which he had opened to hear, were bent to hear what the Spirit's teaching was, and what he ſaid unto the church, who was the chief ſhepherd and biſhop of the ſoul, and thus were we gathered into a right goſpel exerciſe and goſpel worſhip; and worſhipped God who is a Spirit, in the ſpirit received from him according to Chriſt's appointment, John iv. 24. and then we came to ſee over all the worſhips in the world, which were ſet up either by imitation or man's invention, and ſaw it to be in vain to worſhip God and teach for doctrines the commandments of men, as our Lord had ſaid, Mat. xv. 9. and therefore we were conſtrained to withdraw from them, and alſo many of us to go and bear witneſs againſt them in their invented and traditional worſhips, where they were ignorant of the life and power of God; and growing into experienee of the goodneſs of the Lord, and of the ſweetneſs, glory, and excellency of his power in our aſſemblies, we grew in ſtrength and zeal for our meetings more and more and valued the benefit thereof more than any worldly gain: and thus continuing, we grew more and more into an underſtanding of divine things and heavenly myſteries, through the openings of the power that was daily amongſt us, and wrought ſweetly in our hearts, which ſtill united us more and more unto God, and knit us together in the perfect bond of love, of fellowſhip and memberſhip; ſo that we became a body compact, made up of many members, whereof Chriſt himſelf became the head, who was with us and did rule over us, aad ſo further gave gifts unto us, by which we came to be enlarged and further opened, that we might anſwer the end for which he had raiſed us up, and ſo far bleſſed and ſanctified us through his word that dwelt in our ſouls; and many through the favour of God grew in their gifts, and had their mouths opened, and became inſtruments in the Lord's hand to bear witneſs unto the world of the day of the Lord that was broken forth again, even of the great and notable day that Joel propheſied of, and Peter bore witneſs unto.'

So far J. Burnyeat concerned himſelf: let us now hear what teſtimony the brethren have given of him.

'He was (ſay they) a man of an excellent ſpirit and deep experience in the things of God and myſteries of his heavenly kingdom, which were abundantly made manifeſt unto him, and it was his delight to be meditating therein, whereby his experience was daily encreaſed unto the laſt. He was always careful to wait for the motion of the word, and to keep cloſe to it, whereby he grew in his gift. He was an early comer to meetings, and a diligent waiter therein. Many times he would ſit a pretty while in ſilence (not being forward to ſpeak), reverently waiting upon the openings of the heavenly life (like the good houſeholder ſpoken of), to bring forth of his treaſury things both new and old; and indeed he was a bleſſed inſtrument in the hand of the Lord for the convincement and converſion of many. He was deep and large in his gift, adminiſtering ſomething that was ſuitable to every ſtate; in judgment ſound, free in utterance, zealous for holineſs, ſevere againſt unſound and dividing ſpirits, moſt tender to penitents and returning prodigals, affectionate to the brethren; of a grave and ſteady temper, yet ſweet; hardy in his conſtitution, unwearid and undaunted in mind; a ſkilful markſman, whoſe bow abode in ſtrength, and wiſdom was given him to direct his arrows to the very mark;

ſo that the ſturdy were wounded, the meek were comforted, and the tender in ſpirit refreſhed; and yet, although he was thus eminently gifted, he would condeſcend to the weak capacities of all, to reach to the good in all. He was not without honour, even in his own country; for when at any time he came to Cumberland, where he was born and educated, his neighbours would abundantly flock to the meeting to hear him; yet he was far from glorying in his gift, or deſiring to be popular, but would rather reſtrain ſuch who would applaud him, having ſelf in no reputation. He did greatly delight to read the holy ſcriptures, and often adviſed Friends, eſpecially the youth, to read them and other books treating of the true principles of the Chriſtian religion, that none might be ignorant thereof. He was of a grave and becoming behaviour; his blameleſs deportment and converſation preached wherever he came. He would often viſit the ſick and thoſe that were in diſtreſs or affliction, as well the poor as the rich, and would freely adminiſter of his outward ſubſtance to thoſe that ſtood in need of it, as well as ſpiritual comfort and refreſhment.

He ſpent his time chiefly, if not altogether, in the Lord's work and ſervice, viſiting Friends up and down in England, Wales, Scotland, Barbadoes, New-England, Long and Rhode Iſland, New-York and New-Jerſey; but in Ireland in a more peculiar manner, both at his firſt entrance upon his miniſtry, and alſo of later years: for he married, and chiefly reſided in Ireland about ſeven years before his deceaſe. He was very valiant for truth, not only in preaching, but ſuffering for it; and at firſt, he with many faithful brethren, underwent many dangers and hardſhips, Ireland not being fully inhabited, ſo that he was many times expoſed to great dangers, by waters, cold, hunger, and in priſon often, beſides other great abuſes he received for his teſtimony's ſake.

The like may be ſaid concerning his travels in New-England, with the iſlands and wilderneſs places where he accompanied G. Fox, and was wonderfully preſerved through all thoſe perils. He was a valiant in Iſrael, who never ſhrunk in the times of the greateſt trials, ſufferings, and ſtorms of perſecution; and whereas in the year 1688, his wife being deceaſed, he had intended to have returned from Ireland to Cumberland, the wars and troubles approaching, he had not freedom in himſelf to go, but voluntarily gave himſelf up to ſtay here with Friends to take part of what ſufferings might happen; and indeed he was a bleſſed inſtrument in the hand of the Lord for the ſtrengthening and comforting of his people in thoſe ſuffering and calamitous times. It is particularly recorded of him, that in the year 1690, in his viſit to Friends meetings, at a publick province-meeting, he delivered the following remarkable prophetick warning, viz. "It is now a time of great trial upon you in loſing what you have: but the time will come when you will be as greatly tried with getting wealth;" which was ſoon after accompliſhed.

Beſides a journal of his life he alſo publiſhed ſome ſmall controverſial pieces annexed thereunto, concerning the reſurrection, imputative righteouſneſs, perfection, tithes, the call of the miniſtry, baptiſm, the ſupper, &c. He laid down his head in peace with God and love to his people, and good-will to all mankind, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and was buried at New-Garden, being accompanied by many ancient friends and others, where his eminent and faithful ſervices were commemorated by William Edmundſon.

THE

RISE AND PROGRESS

OF THE PEOPLE CALLED

QUAKERS,

IN

IRELAND.

CHAPTER III.

From the end of the troubles under King James the Second, to the paſſing the Act of Parliament for regiſtering the meeting-houſes of Friends, in common with thoſe of other diſſenters, under the reign of King George the Firſt, in the year 1719. *Great plenty ſucceeding the late times of devaſtation and ſcarcity, faithful warnings are given againſt the ſpiritual danger thereon attending. The eminent zeal of faithful Friends of thoſe days againſt the inordinate purſuit of worldly riches. Their zeal and prudence in the proſecution of Chriſtian diſcipline. Some progreſs in propagating the goſpel in the province of Connaught. The characters of divers miniſters and elders, deceaſed.*

It is obſervable, that whereas this year, 1692, there had been ſome application made to the parliament in England, in order that the ſolemn declaration of the people called Quakers might be accepted in ſtead of an oath, an epiſtle of caution was ſent in behalf of friends of this nation to the Meeting for Sufferings in London, deſiring that only the form of Chriſt's own words, Yea and Nay, might be kept to if poſſible; ſo that nothing might be accepted of, that might bring a ſnare or burthen upon any tender conſcientious perſon; and recommending patience, and to wait God's time, to open a clear and free way for his true and tender-hearted people to aſſert the truth.

Beſides other miniſtring friends who viſited this nation this year, 1693, was Thomas Rudd, who travelled through moſt parts of the nation, not only where friends were ſettled, but alſo in ſeveral other parts; and he preached repentance through the ſtreets, and in the publick places of moſt towns he came into, travelling as far as Galway and Sligo, at the firſt of which places he was impriſoned, as alſo at Cork.

Now after the troubles, and great ſpoil and ſcarcity above-mentioned, there ſuddenly ſucceeded a time of great plenty after a wonderful manner, beyond what could be expected; and ſtock and trade increaſed mightily, and the time of getting great riches came on, as the time of great loſſes had been experienced before, and many too eagerly purſued them; and too many of our ſociety were concerned therein, which has proved very injurious upon ſeveral accounts, and eſpecially to friends' children; who perceiving their parents fullneſs, and relying thereupon, grew conceited and finical; many of them giving way to idleneſs, and too many parents indulging them, as alſo gratifying the vain mind that goes after the faſhions of the world; and for want of timely care, ſome grew ſo hardy that their parents could not deal with them; and theſe things greatly added to the exerciſes of the ſincere, and great endeavours were uſed to put a ſtop to this eager purſuit after the things of this world, in ſuch a day of great eaſe as this was, ſuddenly ſucceeding the many ſufferings which friends had formerly undergone: and as this ſpirit of eagerneſs predominated, as though it would choke all that was good, like the tares, and bring a damp upon the ſenſe of truth in the hearts of friends, and ſo make them forget the eminent care and providence of God over them, in giving them their lives for a prey, through all thoſe calamities; the Lord in his mercy, in order to preſerve us, and prevent this evil deſign of the enemy, raiſed up by his Holy Spirit a fervent zeal and courage in many of his ſervants, to ſtand againſt this inſatiable ſpirit, and was mouth and wiſdom to them; and ſo from men and women's meetings many admonitions, exhortations, and warnings, both in word and writing, were ſent forth to the body of friends to keep cloſe to the truth, and within the limits thereof; and the Lord wonderfully accompanied friends in that ſervice, with his power and preſence, to great ſatisfaction and confirmation, and opened to them many ways to ſtop the progreſs of that ſpirit, for the preſervation of one another, which wrought to good effect.

In 1694, John Banks viſited this nation in the work of the miniſtry, and in one of his epiſtles recorded in his journal, is the following remark:

'The Lord hath here a bleſſed zealous people for his name and truth, filled with love to his ſervants, largely manifeſted to us, in accompanying us from one meeting to another, from ten to twenty and above in company at one time, the length of twenty-five miles, even in the time of harveſt; and three travelled from Dublin with us above one hundred miles.'

It was obſerved at the Third month national meeting, in 1695, that no one friend was a priſoner through the nation, friends having gained a pretty good eſteem among thoſe in authority.

This year, 1696, the government of England favoured friends there, ſo far as to preſcribe for them a declaration to be made, or ſigned by them, inſtead of an oath; which although not univerſally ſatisfactory to friends of this nation, nor to many of the brethren in England, by reaſon of the ſacred name of the Lord being mentioned therein, this diſſatisfaction however never proceeded to an open diviſion; but the ſpirit of true Chriſtian charity and mutual forbearance towards one another, under different ſentiments, ſhone forth, particularly in the yearly meeting of London, and a happy harmony was eſtabliſhed among friends of both nations, and an unanimous reſolution taken, to ſolicit the government, when Providence ſhould open the way, for the granting an affirmation eaſy to all; in which that friends of this nation were not inactive, we ſhall ſee hereafter, particularly in the years 1711 and 1721.

This year (1696) died Deborah Sandham of Youghall, wife of Robert Sandham, of whom account hath been given before, who had a ſound and weighty teſtimony for God's truth: ſhe was a pattern of righteouſneſs, humility and ſelf-denial. She ſurvived her huſband about twenty years, and carefully trained up her children in the fear of God, watching over them and her ſervants in love, and the Lord was pleaſed to bleſs her labour and care therein. She was of a tender ſpirit, not haſty to cenſure any hardly; was loth to hurt the good, and yet would condemn the evil; and if ſhe heard of any nigh her profeſſing truth that had done amiſs, it was her godly care to viſit them in love, and admoniſh them; ſhe was a mother in the church, and her love and care over God's heritage was great; ſhe departed this natural life with ſweetneſs and comfort, having this teſtimony to bear on her death-bed, that truth had been her chief treaſure.

Among other friends who viſited the nation this year was John Gratton, an able miniſter of the goſpel, who in his journal has left this teſtimony concerning the friends of Ireland, that ‘There was great love, peace and concord among them, and good order and government in a careful overſight of the flock, that friends be careful in all reſpects to keep their profeſſion without blame, and particularly that none run inordinately after the world, or break in other men's debts.'

In 1698, we have alſo a remarkable teſtimony concerning the zeal of friends of this nation, in proſecuting a ſtrict and cloſe diſcipline, from the men's meeting of Briſtol, in an epiſtle of theirs to the national meeting here, in theſe words:

'Your love to the holy croſs of our Lord Jeſus, and your zeal for promoting the way thereof, by a ſtrict and cloſe diſcipline, is that which is much wanted in many places; and though ignorant and malicious ſpirits may, (as they have done) carp at it, and cry out againſt it as an impoſition on conſcience, God Almighty hath blocked up their way, and ſpoiled the ſpoiler, and manifeſted their folly to all, the neceſſity of a holy care in the church of Chriſt more and more daily appearing.'

This year (1698) William Penn among others viſited this nation; and ſome time after his arrival, John Plympton, a certain tenacious Baptiſt diſputant, publiſhed a paper, intituled, 'A Quaker no Chriſtian:' to which William Penn replied under the title of, 'The Quaker a Chriſtian;' and in order the more effectually to wipe off that adverſary's aſperſions, he alſo wrote and diſperſed a paper intituled, 'Goſpel-Truths held by the people called Quakers,' ſubſcribed by himſelf, Thomas Story, Anthony Sharp, and George Rooke, at Dublin; which may be ſeen in the ſecond volume of William Penn's Works,* with the biſhop of Cork's exceptions to it, and William Penn's anſwer. After this, he travelled to other parts of this nation in the work of the miniſtry, to the edification of the churches; of which, becauſe he has given ſome account, in an epiſtle from hence to the yearly-meeting at London, ſigned by himſelf and his two fellow-labourers, as likewiſe a remarkable teſtimony concerning the friends of Ireland: here follows a copy of it from his works, viz.

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* In two Vols. Folio, 1726.

To the Yearly-Meeting at London.

‘ Dear Friends and Brethren,

‘ It is not the leaſt of our exerciſes, that we are thus far outwardly ſeparated from you, at this time of your holy and bleſſed ſolemnity; but becauſe we have good reaſon to believe it is in the will of God, we humbly ſubmit to his ordering hand, and with open arms of deep and tender love, embrace you our living and loving brethren, who are given up to ſerve the Lord in your generation, and that have long preferred Jeruſalem, and the peace and proſperity of her borders, above your chiefeſt joy. The ſalutation of our endeared brotherly love in Chriſt Jeſus is unto you, deſiring that he may richly appear among you in power, wiſdom, and love, to guide your judgments and influence your ſpirits, in this weighty and anniverſary aſſembly; that ſo nothing may appear or have place among you, but what ſingly ſeeks the honour of the Lord, the exaltation of his truth, and the peace and eſtabliſhment of his heritage. For this, brethren, you and we know has been the aim, end, and practice of thoſe whom the Lord hath made willing to forſake and give up all for his name's ſake; and through various exerciſes and tribulations, yea in the way of the daily croſs, and through the fight and baptiſm of many afflictions, to have their converſation and ſojourning here below upon the earth, in fear and love, looking for their reward in the heavens that ſhall never paſs away; who have not been lifted up by good reports, nor caſt down by evil report, from their love to the Lord and his precious truth, but hold on their way; whoſe hands being clean of evil things towards all men, have waxed ſtronger and ſtronger in the Lord. Wherefore dear brethren, let us all be found in the ſame ſteps, and walking the ſame way, not being high-minded, but fearing to the end, that we may ſerve our generation in diligence and faithfulneſs, and ſo enter into the reſt that God hath reſerved for his true travellers and labourers in his vineyard.

‘ And now, dear brethren, know that the Lord hath brought us well into this kingdom of Ireland, and given us many large and bleſſed opportunities in ſeveral parts; meetings being crouded by people of all ranks and perſuaſions, eſpecially at Dublin, who, for ought we have heard, have given the truth a good report; and indeed the Lord has mightily appeared for his own name, and owned us with a more than ordinary preſence, ſuitable to the occaſions, and made very-heavy and hard things eaſy to us, becauſe of the glory of his power, with which he aſſiſted us in our needful times, for which our ſouls bow before him, and bleſs, reverence and praiſe his holy and worthy name. So that, dear brethren, we have good tidings to give you of truth's proſperity at large, and more eſpecially in the churches, having had the comfort of the general meeting of this nation, conſiſting of many weighty brethren and ſiſters, from all parts thereof, which was held in the city of Dublin in much love, peace and unity for ſeveral days, wherein we had occaſion to obſerve their commendable care for the proſperity of the bleſſed truth, in all the branches of its holy teſtimony, both in the general and in the particular, improving the good order practiſed among the churches of Chriſt in our nation.

‘ Indeed their ſimplicity, gravity, and coolneſs, in managing their church affairs; their diligence in meetings both for worſhip and buſineſs; their diſpatch in ending differences, and expedients to prevent them; but eſpecially their zeal againſt covetouſneſs and indifferency in truth's ſervice, and exemplary care to diſcourage immoderate concern in purſuit of things of this life, and to excite friends to do good with what they have, very greatly comforted us, and in the ſweet and bleſſed power of Chriſt Jeſus the meeting ended, and friends departed. The Lord grant that you may alſo ſee of the travail of your ſouls, and end of your labour and ſervice of love, who ſeek not your own things, but the things of Jeſus Chriſt in this your ſolemn general meeting.

'And, dear brethren, we muſt tell you, here is room enough for true labourers in God's vineyard, and cannot well forbear to recommend the ſervice of truth in this nation, to your ſerious conſideration, if happily the Lord may put it into the hearts of any faithful and weighty brethren, to viſit it in the word of eternal life; for we can not but ſay, the harveſt appears to us to be great, and the labourers in compariſon but a few. So in that love which many waters cannot quench, nor diſtance wear out of our remembrances, and in which we deſire to be remembered of you to the Lord of our houſehold, we dearly and tenderly ſalute you, and remain

'Your loving and faithful brethren,

William Penn.
John Everott.
Thomas Story.

Lambſtowne, 2d of the Fourth month, 1698.

William Penn alſo ſent the following epiſtle to friends of this nation, after his return to England.

Briſtol, 13th of the Eighth Month, 1698.
My dear Friends, Brethren, and Siſters of the nation of Ireland.

‘ Much beloved in the Lord, and often remembered for his name’s ſake ſince I ſaw your faces, and though abſent in body, yet preſent with you in ſpirit.

‘ Grace, mercy, and peace, from God our Father, and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt be increaſed amongſt you; and it will be increaſed, my dear friends, amongſt you, as you increaſe in your faithfulneſs to that bleſſed teſtimony which the Lord hath given you to bear; for faithfulneſs is the only way to fruitfulneſs (and where any are ſlack and ſhort they will not be fruitful to the Lord), wherefore, my dearly beloved in the Lord, keep cloſe to him, and in his bleſſed light walk, where you have a right judgment of yourſelves and others, and may ſee what is amiſs or ſhort, or contrary to the truth, and your call and ſtation in it; that ſo every one of you knowing your memberſhip, and place in the body, may, while you have a day and time, anſwer it to the Lord and his church; for this world, my dear friends, is but a trial and pilgrimage, in order to another; for this is not the place of our reſt, and therefore let us not take up our reſt in fading things, but let the Lord be our reſt, who is the everlaſting ſabbath of his ranſomed people. O my heart is overcome in the ſenſe of his goodneſs to us all every way. O how has he worked for us! Should we not then work for him while we have day to work, and lay ourſelves out for his glory, which is the way for us to lay up treaſure in heaven for ourſelves? Wherefore, my dear friends, brethren, and ſiſters, be you encouraged to double your diligence for the Lord, his truth and church, and let the concern of its proſperity come more and more upon you, in your reſpective places of abode, that you may ſhine as lights and heavenly examples amongſt your neighbours and country folk, yea to the poor dark natives; that it may appear to all that you have been with Jeſus, and that Jeſus is with you; for though it be a time of peace with you, I tell you, brethren, it is a time of great trial; your enemy is the ſame, though his temptations are not, and thereby he hopes to get ground upon you, having transformed his appearance; but my ſoul prayeth to the Lord, that you may not be moved from your ſtedfaſtneſs by the enjoyment of thoſe things, the loſs of which could not ſhake you. Now is the time to grow ſtrong in the Lord, and lay up ſtore for a cold winter day, which the Lord may yet ſuffer to come for the trial of his people, and puniſhment of evil doers. O, I feel my heart engaged and tenderly drawn forth to you, " fleſh of my fleſh, and bone of my bone," in the eternal kindred, where I embrace you in the arms of love that is without diſſimulation, that love which knows no guile, which many waters cannot quench, nor time or diſtance wear out of my remembrance; for it has an everlaſting ſpring. In this I ſalute you altogether, I hope in your national meeting, however, it is to the family of God, wherever ſcattered over that country; and the Lord reſide among you, and open his ſecrets to you, and make you learned in all the learning of the Iſraelites indeed, the redeemed of God, which is wiſdom in a myſtery that the world's wiſdom cannot reach; ſo will you be truly comely and edifying to the body both of elder and younger, fathers and children, all in the line of light, life, and love, ſweetly leading and following each other, being faſtened together by the cords of charity which keeps the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, where the Lord preſerve you all.'

'Things here, and hereaway, are pretty well (bleſſed be the Lord), and go forward: they rejoice in the good account I gave them of your love, zeal, and care (for it is pleaſant to the Lord's people to hear well one of another). I find and feel a dark and envious ſpirit ſecretly gathering all its ſtrength together to encompaſs the holy city, both Gog and Magog; but from heaven will deliverance come to all the heavenly minded in the Lord's time; and till then, and ever, his bleſſed will be done. I could ſay no more, but a word to the wiſe may ſuffice; ſo my dearly beloved in the Lord, I take my leave of you, and bid you farewell, remaining

'Your faithful friend and brother,
'in the fellowſhip of the bleſſed truth,
'William Penn.'

Many friends of the miniſtry from abroad, viſited this nation this year 1699; among whom was Mary Mitchel, who went into ſundry public places of worſhip, and preached repentance in the ſtreets of ſeveral towns, calling upon the people to fear the Lord, and turn from the evil of their ways, and declaring that if they did not, the Lord would viſit them with his judgments; particularly in the ſtreets of Drogheda, where the mayor of the place committed her to priſon, but ſhe was ſoon enlarged.

A general provincial viſit was performed this year; i. e. a viſit to every particular monthly meeting in each province, in order to enquire into the ſtate of each meeting, and ſee how the wholeſome admonitions and exhortations given forth had been put in practice; and an account was returned to the national meeting, of the great ſatisfaction and comfort that attended thoſe concerned in this ſervice, the Lord's good preſence attending them; and a condeſcenſion appearing in thoſe that were viſited, with regard to the advice given them; and particularly friends of Leinſter province gave an account, that many had leſſened their outward concerns, and denied themſelves of the offers of conſiderable gain and profit, in order to anſwer truth's requirings, and friends' labour of love; and that ſome who had large holdings had accommodated others that wanted ſmall tracts of land, and ſome offered to do more on that account.

Agreeable hereunto, was the publication of an epiſtle from the province of Leinſter this year (1699) which was diſperſed and recommended to the obſervation of friends; an epiſtle ſhewing the ſpirit and diſpoſition of the faithful elders in thoſe days, and the juſt conceptions they had of Chriſtian ſimplicity, moderation, and ſelf-denial: not confining it to certain ſuperfluities in habit and ſpeech, as ſome have ignorantly or maliciouſly ſurmiſed, but conſidering it in its due latitude and extent, being truly ſenſible that the cares of this life, and the deceitfulneſs of riches, was as dangerous a ſnare to the old, as airineſs in deportment and the love of other pleaſures are to the young; or that the good ſeed was as effectually hindered from bringing forth fruit in the thorny, as it was in the highway and ſtony ground in the parable: with me it is alſo a ſtanding evidence of the true ſpiritual wiſdom and foreſight of theſe men, with regard to the pernicious effects of the unbounded love and purſuit of worldly riches, on the welfare of our Chriſtian ſociety, the truth of which has been abundantly confirmed by the experince of ſucceeding times.

The epiſtle is here annexed, whereof two thouſand were printed for publick ſervice.

An Epiſtle to friends, given forth from Leinſter province meeting, in Ireland, held at Caſtledermot the 9th, 10th, and 11th days of the Seventh month, 1698.

"Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world: If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him," 1 John, chap. i. 15.

THE PREFACE.

‘ Dear friends,

‘ The following epiſtle is recommended to be read in the fear of the Lord, in which I doubt not but you will have a ſenſe of the godly care and concern which the Lord hath raiſed in the minds of ſome of his faithful elders, for the good and preſervation of his heritage. But if there be any amongſt ourſelves or others, not acquainted with our Chriſtian diſcipline, who, for want of truly ſeeing the great danger and hurt that hath attended the profeſſors of Chriſtianity, by unbounded deſires, and purſuit after the things of this world, ſhall cenſure our Chriſtian care; as if we went about to exerciſe lordſhip over one another, or would hinder and limit ſuch induſtrious and capable perſons, who in the fear of God, and in moderation, do improve the creation in general, or their own worldly talents in particular, which God has been pleaſed to give them; I ſay, if any ſhall thus judge of our godly care and endeavours, let all ſuch know they are miſtaken, and that no ſuch thing is intended.

‘ But as a people whom the Lord hath made ſenſible of the many ſnares that do attend, and the loſs ſome have ſuſtained, by the inſatiable deſire and too eager purſuit after the lawful things of this world, a concern came upon us, that if poſſible, we might all come to be limited with the bounds of truth that leads to moderation and content, and to depend more upon that providential hand of the Lord, that will afford us what we ſtand in need of, than in an inordinate deſire to purſue after the gain of this world’s goods.

‘ And now, dear friends and brethren, this brotherly caution ariſes in my heart for you, who were eye-witneſſes and partakers of that wonderful and eminent bowing power and preſence of the Lord God, that appeared amongſt us at that meeting, that none who were witneſſes of the power of the Lord at that time, and thereby brought into a lively ſenſe and ſight of the great danger attending that mind which would be going after covetouſneſs, may in the leaſt give way thereto, or enter into reaſoning and conſulting with fleſh and blood, by which you will loſe the ſenſe you then had of that ſpirit, and be in danger of becoming monuments of God's diſpleaſure. But on the contrary, keep to the guidance and direction of God's Spirit in yourſelves, which will limit your deſires (to the lawful things of this world) within the bounds of truth: which is the earneſt deſire of one that deſires the good and preſervation of all, in that which will tend to the glory of God, and bring everlaſting comfort in the end.

'Thomas Trafford.'

To all our dear friends and brethren in this nation of Ireland, and elſewhere.

'The ſalutation of our dear love in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, in tender bowels, flows forth to the whole heritage of God, with fervent deſires that all may walk worthy of his great love and fatherly kindneſs, who hath bleſſed us in turning us from our iniquities, and brought us to the knowledge of himſelf, by the bleſſed light of his dear Son ſhining in our hearts, and by the evidence of his Holy Spirit confirmed our faith in the unſpeakable benefit we have, both in his firſt and ſecond coming for to ſuffer for us, in that prepared body, and now in Spirit and glorious power of the Father, to perfect our redemption and ſalvation, and to reconcile us unto himſelf, by waſhing us with the water of regeneration, and ſprinkling us with the blood of his covenant, and under his daily croſs, which crucifies us to the world, and renews his heavenly image in us, and hath preſerved us in all exerciſes of troubles, temptations, and perils of all ſorts, inward and outward, and fed us plentifully with the wholeſome and ſound doctrine of his heavenly kingdom, and watered us abundantly from time to time, with the diſtillations of the ſhowers thereof, flowing from the clouds that he hath prepared and filled with his Holy Spirit, to repleniſh his huſbandry and vineyard with the myſteries of faith and godlineſs, as the former rain in its ſeaſon, and the latter rain in its ſeaſon; and clothed us with religious diſcipline and goſpel order, that no nakedneſs may be amongſt us, but every member of this body which Chriſt is the head of, may be covered with his righteouſneſs in words and actions, following him (in the daily croſs and ſelf denial by faith in him) as lights in the world to the praiſe, and glory of God. And in order to carry on and perfect this good work for our eſtabliſhment and his honour, he hath raiſed and ſettled, and is raiſing, inſtruments according to his bleſſed promiſe, that he would give to his people judges as at the firſt, and counſellors as at the beginning: men fearing God and hating covetouſneſs, gifting them for this great work with his Holy Spirit of counſel, with a ſound mind and underſtanding, and a concern for his honour, and proſperity of his bleſſed truth amongſt men, the enlargement and exalting of the government and kingdom of Chriſt with all godly diligence, according to the ability and gift of his Holy Spirit, given to them for this work and ſervice for the Lord and his people, as help-meets in government, and overſeers and door-keepers of the flock and church of Chriſt, walking before them as good examples in ſelf-denial, not only to the unlawful things of the world, but to the lawful things; the Lord bounding them in their getting, and ordering them in their management, and diſpoſing thereof, that the flock may follow by their footſteps, as they thus follow Chriſt.

‘ And, dear friends, you of this nation know, that for ſeveral years paſt there hath been, and yet remains a godly care on the ſpirits of ſuch whom the Lord hath thus raiſed and concerned as overſeers, that all things might be well in the church of Chriſt, and that he may preſent it to the Father as a chaſte virgin, without blemiſh; and on this account much labour of love hath been beſtowed at opportunities and ſeaſons, which the Lord hath put into our hands, and have been ſanctified to us, the Lord owning his work and us in it, and honouring our aſſemblies in this ſervice with his powerful, glorious preſence, to the overcoming of our hearts with comfort and ſatisfaction, opening our underſtandings by the enlargement of his Holy Spirit, in many things abſolutely needful to be put in practice, for the preſervation of his people out of the ſnares of the enemy of mankind, which he lays in the world, and baits them with the things of this world. And God hath wonderfully owned and bleſſed our labours, to our great comfort and encouragement, and the great benefit and ſatisfaction of many, who give thanks and praiſes to the Lord for the benefit received, on many accounts, through thoſe cloſe concerns and labours of love for the good of one another, as ſaviours on Mount Sion.

‘ And now that which remains, and chiefly is before us in this ſervice, is to warn and admoniſh the church of Chriſt, to beware of the ſnares of that unwearied enemy, which he lays in ſecret, and baits with the lawful things of this world, in this time of eaſe and great liberty; for his baits are ſuitable to the times and ſeaſons, to anſwer the inclination of people's minds, that go from things that are above, after the things that are below; and it is eaſy to underſtand the generality of people are taken in his ſnares, and carried away after riches, preferment, honour, greatneſs, and vain-glory in the things of this world, that are uncertain, and ſoon come to an end: and he is ſtriving to break in upon the people of our ſociety, whom the Lord hath called by his grace out of the world, to obey and follow him in all things, as lights in the world to his honour. And this enemy of all righteouſneſs hath prevailed on many, that are not ſo careful and watchful in the light of Chriſt as they ought to be; and others following their examples to get riches, and be big in the world, invade other mens properties, and fail in their purpoſes, ſo ſacrifice religion and their own credit, to their greedy deſire after gain, and give occaſion for men to brand us with the character of covetouſneſs, which cauſes the truth profeſſed by us, to be evil ſpoken of, ſtumbles the minds of ſome that otherwiſe might join with us, and hinders the Lord's work of reformation on many accounts, and grieves his good ſpirit, and wounds the hearts of his faithful ſervants, that are given up in heart, mind, body, and ſubſtance, that the Lord may limit, bound, order and diſpoſe of them and all they have, and hold as ſtewards under him, that hath all power in heaven and earth, with all due reverence, ſubjection, and obedience, where our preſervation is from the inroads the enemy makes to hinder the progreſs of the Lord's people, and to make them unfruitful to the Lord as his vineyards, in heavenly and ſpiritual things; but inſtead thereof to bring forth wild grapes, briars, thorns, thiſtles and tares, the fruits of the mind, heart, ſpirit, and affections that go in their own wills into earthly things, beyond the bounds and limits of the Lord's everlaſting truth, which is great provocation for the Lord to curſe the ground, and to lay his vineyard waſte, which he hath beſtowed great labour upon, that it might bring forth good fruit, to the praiſe, honour, and glory of his great name.

'Now under a due conſideration of the great injury and damage the church of Chriſt hath and doth ſuſtain in our day, by this floating ſpirit that leads into the lawful things of the world, beyond the bounds of truth, and beyond the uſe for which they were created and given of God, a great concern came upon ſeveral of us in a ſpiritual travail, for the honour of God and the preſervation of his people, the comelineſs, beauty and credit of the unſpotted religion profeſſed by us; and under this godly care and concern the Spirit and power of the Lord mightily appearing with us, and in us, in which the teſtimony of the Lord Jeſus roſe in many, as a ſtandard lifted up againſt the invaſions of an enemy, and great labours and endeavours were uſed to ſtop this unſatiable ſpirit that is ſo eager after earthly things, and yet not willing to be called by the name of covetouſneſs, and to bring it within the bounds and limits of truth. This religious concern being practiſed from time to time for ſeveral years, at ſuch opportunities as the Lord put into our hands to be concerned in church affairs, that nothing might get in or grow which God hath not ſowed nor planted, but be plucked up and rooted out in due time; that the Lord's plant and good ſeed that he hath planted and ſowed, might grow, flouriſh, and bring forth good fruits in due ſeaſon, to the honour and glory of the great Huſbandman, that the cares of this world and covetouſneſs of riches might not choke it.

'Now we being at our province meeting, beforementioned, and a great appearance of friends, both men and women, and the mighty power of the Lord amongſt us; under a weighty ſenſe thereof the affairs of the church were managed in great unity, peace and concord: and under this heavenly canopy of the Lord's ancient goodneſs, a weighty concern came upon our ſpirits, as at other times on the like occaſion, concerning the bounds and limits of getting, and the right uſing, the lawful things of this world; and how far friends might ſafely go into them: and much time being ſpent in church affairs to good purpoſe and ſatisfaction, the meeting adjourned till the next day; and after the meeting for the worſhip of

God was over, then men friends, and ancient concerned women, met to conſider of this weighty matter; and accordingly Friends met and ſat down in great ſilence, retired to the Lord for his aid and counſel, and the Lord was pleaſed to appear, and his power was great through his Spirit to our comfort; and many hearts were melted before him, becauſe of the weight of his goodneſs, which bowed all ſpirits; and many heavenly things were opened in the teſtimony of Jeſus, concerning the bounds and right uſe of the lawful things of this world, and in the demonſtration of the ſpirit and power of Chriſt then abounding amongſt us, and governing our aſſembly, and guiding our hearts and underſtandings, unanimouſly it was agreed and adjudged, that a competency of the lawful things of this world is ſufficient for every one, and is the right bounds, with a due conſideration of every one's charge, ſtation, place and ſervice. And that mind which will not be content with this, bears the character of covetouſneſs, and renders ſuch unfit to rule in the church of Chriſt; and there was an unanimous conſent, one by one, to offer up ourſelves to the judgment of the province meeting, or other approved elders, as the province meeting ſhall think fit; if in any thing we do exceed thoſe bounds, that Truth (i. e. Chriſt) may bound us that hath all power in heaven and earth: and in a ſubjection one to another in our poſſeſſions, holdings, callings, trading, and dealing amongſt men, not to be our own judges, or walk in the light of our own eyes, conſidering the wiſe man's ſaying, That every man's cauſe is good in his own eyes; but his neighbour finds him out, and in the multitude of counſel is ſafety. Not that we intend to deprive any of the moderate and lawful uſe of the things of this world, or to take from any man his poſſeſſions, or to invade and take away property, but to bring all things into right bounds, and ſet them in their right places, that ſo none may be guilty of the great ſin of abuſing the Lord's mercies, but might uſe and enjoy them to his honour; that in ſo doing they may have his peace and bleſſing, which indeed is the true comfort of all enjoyments. Thus ſhall we give evident teſtimony to the world by our moderation, even in the lawful things, that we are true followers of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, in a ſelf-denying life. And thus, as help-meets together in the Lord Jeſus, we may be as Saviours on mount Sion, building up one another in our moſt precious faith, and in our heavenly poſſeſſion in Chriſt Jeſus, over the greedy gain, greatneſs, and vain-glory of the world, and periſhing, fading things thereof, that ſoon come to an end; and here the rich man will not glory in his riches, but ſee the danger of them, and not lay hold of opportunities to heap up more, to make himſelf and poſterity great in the world; but rather endeavour to leſſen, that with more eaſe and cheerfulneſs he may ſerve God and his generation with what he hath, with all his might, being glad of every opportunity that preſents, that he may do good, and be rich in good works, conſidering he is a ſteward, and his time uncertain in what he enjoys, and that he muſt be accountable to the Lord of all, for all things he poſſeſſes under him; and, under the like conſideration, the mean man will be glad that he is free from many temptations and ſnares, that the rich in this world are liable to fall into, and pierce themſelves with many ſorrows and hurtful luſts, and bleſs the Lord for what he enjoys, not wanting food and raiment, with which he is well content and eaſy in his mind, that is towards the Lord, and ſeeks not from place to place, and from one country to another, in a covetous mind to heap up riches, but looks to the Lord with an eye of faith, to receive counſel from him in his undertakings, and dare not go beyond his limits, nor without his countenance; and all murmuring, repining and unbelief is kept out of the camp. And there will be no craving ſpirits where the Lord rules, but all in their ſtations, according to their ability and gifts, endeavour to ſerve the Lord with all their might and ſubſtance, in their places where the lord hath raiſed them, or ordered them, and may be ſerviceable; ſhaking themſelves from the duſt of the earth, putting on their beautiful garments of the Lord's government, and ſhining under the diſcipline thereof, riſing over the earth and earthly things in the life and power of Chriſt, as lights in the world in this glorious day of the Lord, wherein he is ſtaining the glory of the lawful things of this world, and the goodlineſs thereof, by the brightneſs of his coming in the glory of his Father's kingdom; and is whipping buyers and ſellers out of the temple, that it may be a houſe for the ſervice of God, which holineſs becometh; that he may walk, ſup, and make his abode, and the offering of his people may be acceptable to him, when he hath purged away all this droſs, tin, and reprobate ſilver.

'Our hearts are deeply affected with the care and kindneſs of the Lord, for our preſervation from the ſnares of the enemy, which he lays for us in the lawful things of this world, far more dangerous, and we more liable to be taken in them in this time of great eaſe and liberty, than in the time of perſecution and ſufferings, to be frighted from our ſtedfaſtneſs in our faith and principles.

'And, dear friends, we may well underſtand that as to our Society, ſelf-denial ſtands moſtly in the lawful things, hoping, by this time of this glorious day, you have overcome the baſe and unlawful things, and your hearts and minds are cleanſed from them by the blood of Chriſt that ſprinkles our hearts from an evil conſcience, and waſhes our bodies with the clean water of regeneration, and renewing of his Holy Spirit. And he that hath done this for us is perfecting what is lacking, that he may preſent us to God the Father faultleſs, to whom be praiſes for ever. Amen.

‘ Subſcribed, in behalf of the meeting, by

John Pim, William Edmundſon,
George Rooke, Thomas Trafford,
Thomas Wilſon, Roger Roberts.

POSTSCRIPT.

‘ At the firſt, when the Lord called and gathered us to be a people, and opened the eyes of our underſtandings, then we ſaw the exceeding ſinfulneſs of ſin, and the wickedneſs that was in the world; and a perfect abhorrence was fixed in our hearts againſt all the wicked, unjuſt, vain, ungodly, unlawful part of the world in all reſpects; and we ſaw the goodly and moſt glorious lawful things of the world to be abuſed: and that many ſnares and temptations lay in them, and many troubles and dangers of divers kinds; and we felt the load of them, and that we could not carry them and run the race the Lord had ſet before us ſo cheerfully as to win the prize of our ſalvation; ſo that our care was to caſt off this great load and burthen of our great and gainful ways of getting riches, and to leſſen our concerns therein, to the compaſs that we might not be chargeable to any in our ſtations and ſervices required of us, and be ready to anſwer Chriſt Jeſus our Captain, that called us to follow him in a ſpiritual warfare, under the diſcipline of his daily croſs and ſelf-denial; and then the things of this world were of ſmall value with us, ſo that we might win Chriſt, and the goodlieſt things of the world were not near us, ſo that we might be near the Lord, and the Lord's truth outbalanced all the world, even the moſt glorious part of it. Then great trading was a burthen, and great concerns a great trouble; all needleſs things, fine houſes, rich furniture, and gaudy apparel, was an eye-ſore; our eye being ſingle to the Lord, and the inſhining of his light in our hearts, which gave us the ſight of the knowledge of the glory of God, which ſo affected our minds, that it ſtained the glory of all earthly things, and they bore no maſtery with us, either in dwelling, eating, drinking, buying, ſelling, marrying, or giving in marriage; the Lord was the object of our eye, and we all humble and low before him, and ſelf of ſmall repute; miniſters and elders in all ſuch caſes walking as good examples, that the flock might follow their footſteps as they followed Chriſt in the daily croſs and ſelf-denial in their dwellings, callings, eating, drinking, buying, ſelling, marrying, and giving in marriage; and this anſwered the Lord's witneſs in all conſciences, and gave us credit amongſt men.

'And as our number increaſed, it happened that ſuch a ſpirit came in amongſt us, as was amongſt the Jews when they came out of Egypt, and this began to look back into the world, and traded with the credit which was not of its own purchaſing, and ſtriving to be great in the riches and poſſeſſions of this world; and then, great fair buildings in city and country, fine and faſhionable furniture, and apparel equivalent, with dainty and voluptuous proviſion, with rich matches in marriage, with exceſſive cuſtomary uncomely ſmoking of tobacco, under colour of lawful and ſerviceable, far wide from the footſteps of the miniſters and elders the Lord raiſed and ſent forth into his work and ſervice at the beginning; and far ſhort of the example our Lord and Maſter Chriſt Jeſus left us, when he was tempted in the wilderneſs with the offer of all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them, and deſpiſed them: and Moſes that refuſed to be called the ſon of Pharoah's daughter, and rather choſe affliction with the Lord's people, having a regard to the recompence of reward. And the holy apoſtle writes to the church of Chriſt, both fathers, young men, and the children, and adviſes againſt the love of the world, and the faſhions thereof: and it is working as the old leaven at this very time, to corrupt the heritage of God, and to fill it with briars, thorns, thiſtles, and tares, and the grapes of the earth to make the Lord reject it, and lay it waſte. But the Lord of all our mercies, whoſe eye hath been over us for good ſince he gathered us to be a people, and entered into covenant with us, according to his ancient promiſe, is lifting up his Spirit as a ſtandard againſt the invaſion of this enemy, and is raiſing up his living word and teſtimony in the hearts of many, to ſtand in the gap which this floating, high, worldly, libertine ſpirit hath made, and that is gone from the footſteps of them that follow Chriſt as at firſt, and know him to bound them, and to keep in his bounds; and not in their own will and time lay hold on preſentations and opportunities that may offer to get riches, which many have had and refuſed for truth's ſake, and the Lord hath accepted as an offering, and rewarded to their great comfort, and to the praiſe of his great name.

'William Edmundſon.'

In the Sixth and Seventh month this year, 1669, W. Edmundſon and George Rooke performed a viſit to the North, and to Connaught, accompanied by Abel Strettell, Richard Guy, and Henry Ridgeway.

Their firſt viſit was to friends in Ulſter, at their Province meeting at Richard Boyes's. Then viſiting ſome particular meetings of friends in that province, they went to preach the goſpel in the following places. Near Salter's town at Francis Parſons's they had a large meeting, and many ſober people came to hear truth declared there, and ſeemed to be pretty well ſatisfied; then at Dungiven was another meeting; theſe places are both in the county of Londonderry, and there was ſome convincement about the latter place: then they went into the county of Donegal, and coming to a place called Raphoe, a biſhop's ſee, and being deſirous to have a meeting with the people there, they were much averſe to it, and none of them would ſuffer a meeting in their houſe, ſo the meeting was appointed at the market-croſs; and the people gathered, and George Rooke ſtood upon the croſs, and declared the way of life to them; and then the prieſts called the high conſtable to break up the meeting; but underſtanding they acted of themſelves, and not by any order from the government, the meeting continued about two hours, moſt of which time was ſpent in preaching the free goſpel of Chriſt Jeſus, and the people were ſo well affected with truth, that they got a large quiet meeting in the inn where they lodged that evening; and William Edmundſon ſet the power of truth over all hirelings, and the free goſpel of Chriſt Jeſus above the tithing prieſts. The next day they had a meeting in the morning about four miles from thence, and in the afternoon a meeting at Letterkenny, both which were quiet, and in the morning following a parting meeting, where the ſweet preſence of God was richly enjoyed; and there being three friends that lived about eight miles north of that place, they were adviſed to keep a meeting there (they being far from friends) the promiſe of Chriſt being where two or three meet in his name, that his preſence ſhall be with them; and ſo a meeting was ſettled there for the worſhip of God.

Soon after, they took their journey for Sligo, and came thither the ſeventh day of the week, and got leave to keep a meeting in the market-houſe, where many people came the next day and were ſober; and then they had a meeting ſix miles from Sligo at Killoony, where the prieſt did what he could to hinder and frighten the people from coming, but all in vain, for the meeting was kept to ſatisfaction; and they not being clear of Sligo went back and had another meeting there, where was a juſtice of peace, and many ſober people, and the way of eternal life was clearly opened to them, and ſo they were left without excuſe. The next meeting they had was at a place called Carrickdrumruſk, they being moſtly Britiſh people that lived there, and were very ready to come to the meeting, which was kept in an inn, and a good ſatisfactory time friends had with them. Then they travelled to Longford, but none would permit a meeting there, ſo they paſſed on to the Province meeting at Moat of Granoge, where meeting with friends from ſeveral parts, they were comforted in the Lord, and one in another, giving account of their ſervice, and that a door was opened in thoſe remote places to receive truth, and the meſſengers of it, and the peace and ſatisfaction they enjoyed from God, the rewarder of his faithful labourers.*

This year (1700) alſo, William Edmundſon and George Rooke performed another viſit to ſeveral parts of the province of Connaught, being a journey of about 342 miles, of which a particular account may be ſeen in W. Edmundſon's journal.

Barclay's Apology, printed in London, was this year ordered to be diſtributed among ſtrangers.

This year died James Greenwood and Ann his wife, of Grange in the county of Antrim, a faithful couple, being of one ſpirit (as well as joined together in the covenant of marriage) wherein they were true help-meets to one another, being endowed with many ſpiritual gifts and graces, which they, as good ſtewards, faithfully improved to the honour of the great Giver and the benefit and comfort of his people. They were of ſuch a juſt and upright converſation, fearing the Lord and eſchewing evil, that the truth they profeſſed was honoured by them; their hearts being ſeaſoned by the heavenly grace, ſo that they were as the ſavoury ſalt, among thoſe with whom they were converſant, being of a grave and weighty deportment, aiming at the glory of God, and the good of ſouls in their concerns. They were great lovers of peace and concord in the church, and much concerned for keeping the unity of the ſpirit in the bond of peace. They were ſtrict obſervers of the apoſtles exhortation, not to forget to entertain ſtrangers, their houſe and hearts being open to receive the travelling ſervants of the Lord: for which ſervice they were well qualified, adminiſtring to them ſpiritual help and aſſiſtance, as well as outward entertainment. James being for many years infirm in body, was unable to travel much abroad; but Ann being healthy, both in body and mind, was frequently ſerviceable at the general meetings of friends, where ſhe appeared in ſuch ſweetneſs and evenneſs of temper, ſo ſavoury, grave, deliberate, and reaching in her expreſſions, that ſuch as were in the ſervice with her were much ſtrengthened and encouraged, by the excellent fruits of the Divine Spirit that appeared through her, both in doctrine, diſcipline, and converſation. Her words in her teſtimony were but few, and not forwardly expreſſed, ſhe being careful not to run before her guide, but to obſerve divine conduct, under which her example was a check to forward, and raſh appearances; yet ſhe was a nurſing mother to the young and tender, a refreſher of the weary, an encourager of the diſtreſſed, and was ſo endued with heavenly wiſdom, and a taking way of expreſſion and geſture in conference, that even diſorderly and obſtinate perſons were oftentimes won upon by her. They both died in the ſame year, in great reſignation and aſſurance of peace with God.

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* See a further account of this journey in William Edmundſon's Journal.

The latter end of this year (1701) king William died, who, during his whole reign, allowed a Chriſtian liberty to tender conſciences, the ever memorable act of toleration being paſſed in his reign, and continued and confirmed in the reign of queen Ann, by which the ſeveral diſſenters were exempted from divers penalties to which they had been before liable; and now friends throughout the nation peaceably enjoyed their meetings for the worſhip of God.

Friends of Dublin ſuffered little this year (1702) for their teſtimony againſt the ſuperſtitious obſervation of days, Thomas Bell, mayor of that city, having put forth a proclamation ſome time before the day called Chriſtmas-day, forbidding the tumultuous meetings of any men, boys, or apprentices, under pretence of ſhutting down friends ſhops; alſo the ſeneſchal of Thomas-Court and Donore did the like, both which proclamations had, in a great meaſure, the deſired effect of preventing the meeting of the wicked rabble, their hurting friends, breaking windows, &c. as had been uſual in former years.

This year a choſen number of friends in Ulſter performed a general viſit through that province.

This year (1703) alſo John Page, mayor of the city of Dublin, counſellor William Neave, ſeneſchal of the Liberty of Thomas-Court and Donore, and counſellor Grace, ſeneſchal of Sepulchre's liberty, by ſeaſonably iſſuing proclamations as aforeſaid, as alſo lieutenant-general Earl, taking care that the ſoldiers ſhould not be abuſive, protected friends of the city from the uſual inſolence of the rabble, ſo that they ſuffered little or nothing for opening their ſhops, and following their lawful trades and employments, in teſtimony againſt the ſuperſtitious obſervation of days; and now little ſufferings attended friends, except for their Chriſtian teſtimony againſt tithes.

This year (1704), and in the fifty-ſixth of his age, died Gerſhon Boate, having been convinced about 1670, and the twenty-ſecond of his age; and the Lord was pleaſed to beſtow upon him a gift in the miniſtry, in the exerciſe of which he was many times freſh and lively, and ſometimes travelled both in this nation and ſome parts of England, Scotland, and Wales. He was ready and willing to ſerve truth and friends with all his might, both in travelling with friends in the miniſtry, and in ſeeking relief for ſuch as were under ſufferings; and he was a man of ſuch parts and intereſt, that he ſeldom miſſed effecting the matter he took in hand. He was of a quick apprehenſion, great abilities and courage, and very ſerviceable to the country on ſeveral accounts, and particularly with regard to the Rapparees that infeſted it; and was wonderfully preſerved through many imminent dangers, from thoſe blood-thirſty men who lay in wait for miſchief. By this means he became acceptable to the government, and had an intereſt among, and a ready acceſs to, perſons in power, which however he did not apply to his own promotion, in the profits or honours of this world, but to the advancement of truth and its teſtimony, and the good of his brethren. He was a true ſervant of the church, and in its ſervice contracted his laſt illneſs, and died in great peace and reſignation to the will of God.

Faithful friends at this time (1705) were in good eſteem, the government favourable, and magiſtrates generally moderate.

This year ſeveral friends, appointed by a province-meeting in Ulſter, performed a general viſit through that province.

It ſeems not unſeaſonable here to obſerve, that whereas for ſeveral preceding years repeated advices were given, and earneſtly recommended, from ſundry half-year's meetings, that friends ſhould refrain from the too eager purſuit of great concerns and incumbrances of the world, in order that all might be reſtrained, if poſſible, from thoſe things that would hurt them inwardly or outwardly; although it was a time wherein opportunities ſeemed to offer for getting riches, by great trades, ſtocking of farms, &c. yet ſeveral diſappointments happened to thoſe that took liberty herein, particularly on occaſion of a great decay of trade which enſued on the wars abroad, ſo that ſome who ſlighted and rejected the timely advice and warning given them, ſuffered great loſs, both as to their inward condition and outward affairs; but ſuch who complied were ſenſible of the benefit thereof, both with reſpect to their eaſe in the things of this world, and their inward peace and ſatisfaction.

This year died John Clibborn of Moate Granoge, a patient and faithful ſufferer for truth's teſtimony, an open hearted man to entertain friends and ſerve truth with his outward ſubſtance, and very charitable to the poor.

Beſides other miniſtering friends who viſited the nation this year (1706), Thomas Rudd from England, landed at Dublin in the Sixth month, and after being at friends meeting there the Sixth day of the week, on the day following, accompanied by our friends Robert Bradſhaw and Joſeph Gill, both dwellers in the ſaid city, he paſſed through four or five ſtreets thereof, uttering the following words, viz. 'Oh the dreadful and Almighty God will dreadfully 'plead becauſe of ſin;' but before he was clear of that ſervice, ſome officers, by an order from alderman William Gibbons, mayor of the city, brought him before the ſaid mayor, and ſeveral other aldermen, and the ſaid two friends went along with him thither; ſo a mittimus was written, and they all three were ſent to the Wheat-ſheaf priſon, where they remained cloſe priſoners three days, and then were ſet at liberty by means of friends application to the mayor, recorder, and ſome of the aldermen; and Thomas, being unhealthy of body, went into the country, thereby expecting ſome benefit, reſpecting his diſtemper; and paſſing Northward, viſited friends meetings in Ulſter province, and returned to Dublin; where, being accompanied by the ſaid two friends, he paſſed again through the ſame ſtreets as before, declaring the former words, and met with no oppoſition or moleſtation from the magiſtrates, and afterwards went into other parts of the country where he had not been. He viſited moſt of friends meetings in the nation, and alſo had ſervice in the ſtreets of many towns and public places in divers parts thereof.

This year died Anthony Sharp, who was born in Glouceſterſhire in England, in the year 1642. He was convinced about the year 1665, by the miniſtry of William Dewſbury, at a meeting in priſon at Warwick. He came to ſettle in Dublin in 1669, and ſome time after was concerned in a public teſtimony; and friends in Dublin then being but few, and thoſe expoſed to ſufferings on the account of tithes, &c. he was very ſerviceable to them by advice, and appearing before rulers and magiſtrates on their behalf, wherein his endeavours were often bleſſed with ſucceſs, as alſo by entertaining friends cheerfully at his houſe. He was an induſtrious man in the concerns of this life, and having juſtly acquired the reputation of a wiſe and honeſt dealer, his credit among men, and outward ſubſtance daily increaſed, which however did not prove a means of choaking the good ſeed in his heart, he being both a large contributor to the poor, and devoted to ſerve truth and friends in his generation, both with his ſubſtance and underſtanding. He was a man of an honeſt, ſober, and clean converſation; for although he had occaſion to converſe with people of various perſuaſions and tempers, and temptations of divers kinds attended; yet through the goodneſs of God he was ſo preſerved, that there was no juſt cauſe to reproach truth on his behalf, being very careful to avoid needleſs company keeping, and being leavened * into the ſpirits of thoſe he converſed with, by too much familiarity; but would take occaſion to diſcourſe of the principles

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* i. e. Conformed to the Diſpoſitions.

of truth, or ſome religious ſubject whereby they might be diverted from thoſe vain diſcourſes that are too frequent in many companies. In his public teſtimony he was many times zealouſly concerned for the convincement of ſtrangers, being gifted for that ſervice, having a good underſtanding, a ready utterance, and a clear way of delivery; and indeed his labour of love in that reſpect did, through the bleſſing of God, prove effectual to ſeveral. He has left in manuſcript ſeveral pieces written in defence of truth, againſt prieſts and others; particularly on immediate revelation, on the call of a goſpel miniſter, on womens' preaching, baptiſm, the Lord's ſupper, &c. He travelled ſeveral times through this nation and in England; and in the year 1695, viſited Holland, ſome parts of Germany, and Denmark, and ſome time after, Scotland, in the work of the miniſtry; and at length, having been very ſerviceable among friends for many years, and finiſhed his courſe, he laid down his head in peace.

This year (1706) ſeveral Friends, by appointment of the Province meeting, made a general viſit through the province of Ulſter, and returned ſatisfactory accounts of their ſervice.

This year (1707) alſo ſeveral Friends, appointed by the Quarterly meeting of Leinſter, performed a viſit to the ſeveral Monthly meetings of that province to good ſatisfaction. And in the year 1708, a like general viſit was made through the meetings in the province of Munſter with good effect.

This year (1708) Joſeph Pike publiſhed a Treatiſe on Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper, which, though ordered to be printed at a national charge, the author choſe to do at his own coſt.

N. B. It is no new thing, that the church of Chriſt ſhould flouriſh under perſecution, and, on the other hand, ſuffer in a time of outward eaſe and tranquillity; for this has been uſually her lot. Accordingly, the former part of this hiſtory is pretty much made up of accounts of the zeal, piety and fervent charity that prevailed among the brethren in times of perſecution; on the contrary, the remaining parts of this narrative of the ſtate of the church, in the days of tranquillity and ceſſation from perſecution, will afford but too many inſtances of the decay of love towards God and one another; and it were doing injuſtice to the preſent time to paſs by the following obſervation, viz. That in the year 1708, complaint was made from divers parts of the nation to the Half-year's meeting, of a lukewarm ſpirit among the profeſſors of truth, and particularly of the want of that true concern and travail of ſpirit which ought to prevail, in the meetings for the worſhip of Almighty God; and it appeared to Friends at their National meeting, upon a ſerious conſideration of this complaint and grievance, that it might be very much occaſioned through the too great love of, and too eager purſuit after, the things of this world; for which reaſon the cautions formerly given forth againſt this evil, in divers minutes, were revived, and the more diligent obſervance thereof recommended.

About the ſame time I find there was a weighty concern among Friends, for the regulation of men's and women's meetings, that none might be admitted members thereof, but ſuch who were well inclined and concerned for the proſperity of truth, according to the firſt inſtitution;* and William Edmundſon wrote an epiſtle this year on this head, which was approved and recommended by the National meeting, and may be ſeen at the end of his journal.

Among other miniſtring Friends who viſited this nation this year (1709), was James Dickinſon, who had a particular warning to Friends and others, of a day of great mortality approaching.

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* See the Treatiſe of Chriſtian Diſcipline.

This year John Exham, a Friend, aged about eighty years, came from his dwelling at Charleville, in the county of Cork, and viſited Friends in their families through moſt parts of the nation. See a further account of him in the year 1721.

This year (1710) and in the ſixtieth of his age, died John Watſon of Kilconner in the county of Catherlough. He was convinced about the year 1673, by the miniſtry of John Burnyeat; when he took up a reſolution to be faithful, according to the then preſent manifeſtation of his duty given him, notwithſtanding its expoſing him to ſome difficulties, and ſufferings from his parents and relations, for refuſing to join with them in their way of worſhip, for uſing the plain language, &c. which was hard to be borne by his father, who with the archdeacon, John Plummer, uſed their endeavours to reduce him to a compliance with their church-ordinances by perſuaſion, which proving ineffectual, the archdeacon threatened him with a priſon; to which he anſwered, ‘ I do not fear it, but will make ready for one,’ and accordingly he diſpoſed of ſome of the land which he held, that he might have leſs rent and incumbrance lying on him.

In the year 1678, a meeting was ſettled at his houſe, which cauſed the ſaid archdeacon Plummer, and Richard Boyle, biſhop of Leighlin and Fernes, to be angry, and ſoon after he was ſued in their court, and taken by a writ *de excommunicato capiendo*, for refuſing to pay one pound ſixteen ſhillings, demanded towards the repairs of the worſhip-houſe at Fenagh; but before he was taken to priſon, the ſaid Plummer meeting him, ſpoke with ſeeming kindneſs to him, ſaying, if he would ſubmit to them, and not ſuffer meetings to be at his houſe, all ſhould be paſſed by and forgiven him; which he, for conſcience ſake refuſing to comply with, the ſaid Plummer being enraged, ſaid, ‘ Take him away to priſon; there he ſhall lie till he rots;' and then going away, John Watſon called him back, and ſaid he was to tell him that he ſhould not proſper in what he intended againſt him, which accordingly came to paſs; for although John was ſent to priſon that day, and cloſely confined for about ſix months, he after that, by the favour of John Tench the ſheriff, obtained ſome liberty to go home to his family; whereat the ſaid Plummer being much diſpleaſed, went the week before the enſuing aſſizes to conſult with the biſhop, in order to ſue the ſheriff for granting him that liberty; but in returning home he was ſuddenly ſmote with the loſs of the uſe of his limbs, and continued in that condition for ſome time before he died, whereupon the ſuit dropt for that aſſize, and he lived not to ſee his deſign accompliſhed on the ſaid John Watſon, who however continued a priſoner above two years.

He received a gift in the miniſtry in the year 1676, in the exerciſe of which he approved himſelf a faithful ſteward, and a diligent and zealous labourer, often viſiting the meetings of Friends in this nation, as alſo in England; and beſides attending the meetings in the province of Leinſter, to which he belonged, he uſually once a year, whilſt of ability to travel, viſited the meetings of Friends in the other two provinces of Ulſter and Munſter, and the Lord was pleaſed to bleſs his concern and labour of love therein, to the convincement of ſome, and edification and comfort of many.* He was alſo ſerviceable in diſcipline, being zealous to keep up good order, and that all might walk as becometh the goſpel, in an holy and blameleſs converſation, wherein he was a good example, and careful to rule well his own houſe. He died in great peace of conſcience, and reſignation to the will of God, with the comfort of an aſſurance that he had finiſhed his day's work in his day.

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* Robert Lecky of Kilmainham, accompanying him and Anthony Sharp, in a journey to the north, was convinced, and became a ſerviceable man to the Society.

A general viſit was performed, (1711) by Friends appointed by the Province meeting, through the province of Leinſter, in order to ſtir up Friends effectually, to put in practice the ſeveral advices that had been from time to time given forth, from national and other meetings.

This year the following Friends were appointed to go over to London, in order to join Friends in England in ſoliciting the Engliſh parliament, for further eaſe with reſpect to the affirmation, (ſee the year 1696 above) and accordingly they went over on that account, viz. Alexander Seaton, John Barcroft, Thomas Ducket, John Boles, Nicholas Harris and Gerſhon Boate, ſon of the late Gerſhon Boate.

And in the year 1712, a treatiſe concerning oaths, formerly printed at London in the year 1675, was, by order of the Half-year's meeting, reprinted here for a general ſervice, to the number of one thouſand.

Among other miniſtring Friends from abroad, who viſited this nation this year, was James Hoſkins, who having been here laſt year, and upon ſome extraordinary occaſion returned to England, landed a ſecond time in Dublin, went from thence northwards, and had meetings among ſtrangers in the counties of Derry and Donnegal. At Londonderry he was handled roughly, and put out of the city, nor would they ſuffer him to have a meeting, yet he had good ſervice in ſeveral places thereaway. Afterwards he went into Connaught, accompanied by ſeveral Friends from Dublin, and had ſeveral meetings in that province among ſtrangers, and without moleſtation, except at Caſtlebar, where the people were intimidated from going to the meeting by ſir Henry Bingham, the chief man of that place, and juſtice of the peace, who threatened to ſend them to the houſe of correction if they went to the meeting, and by his authority the ſaid James Hoſkins was haled out of the meeting, put into bridewell, and kept priſoner there about two days.

This year died that eminent and faithful miniſter and elder William Edmundſon, of whoſe labours in doctrine and diſcipline a particular account hath been given in the foregoing part of this hiſtory. It ſeems however not to be ſuperfluous, in this place, to give a ſhort ſketch of his diſtinguiſhing talents and character.

About the year 1650 he went into the army, and continued a ſoldier ſome time under the parliament, in the civil wars in England and Scotland, but being religiouſly inclined he grew weary of that way of life, the Lord leading him from a carnal to a ſpiritual warfare; and in the year 1652 he quitted the army and came to Ireland. In the year 1655 he became firſt concerned to ſpeak a few words in meetings, in fear and humility, being under a jealouſy leſt a wrong ſpirit might get entrance to deceive him, under the likeneſs of an angel of light; but as he abode faithful, he grew in the exerciſe of his gift, and became an able miniſter of the goſpel, and an inſtrument in the Lord's hand of converting many to righteouſneſs, in this nation, as alſo in England and America. He had a great ſhare of natural parts, though but of a mean education, was ſound in doctrine, plain in preaching, and free from affectation, and was oftentimes wonderfully enlarged in declaring the myſteries of the kingdom of Chriſt, as well as the myſterious workings of ſatan; he had a ſingular gift in opening and applying the typical part of the law, to the ſubſtance in the goſpel; he was ſharp in his teſtimony againſt tranſgreſſors, yet tender to the dejected and penitent; he was very often zealouſly concerned to exhort friends to beware of the love, and too eager purſuit of the riches and greatneſs of the world, as being the chief engine the enemy of truth had to hurt us a people; a truth of great importance, which as it has been abundantly verified among the ſucceeding profeſſors of the ſame way, it may be worth while to give a ſpecimen of his ſentiments on this head, as a hint not uſeleſs to many of us: "I know, (ſays he, in a letter to a friend, recorded in his journal) that the eagerneſs after the lawful things of this world, at this time, hinders many friends growth in the precious truth, and their ſervice to it in their day, though otherwiſe of great parts and abilities to do much ſervice for truth on many accounts, as inſtruments in the hand of God; but they cannot ſerve God as they ought to do, and as the day requires, nor pleaſe the Captain of our ſpiritual warfare as good ſoldiers, whilſt they cumber themſelves with the things of this world; and this is the great failure and ſtumbling-block at this day, and too many of our ſociety are hurt thereby, who have in meaſure eſcaped the unclean, unjuſt and unlawful things of this world, and waſhed their garments from the ſpots thereof, and ſo bear the name of virgins, but ſit down in the duſt, in the lawful things of this world, without a due conſideration and true regard of the right uſe and ſervice of them in the creation, and to the bounds and limits of truth, in the getting and uſing of them in their places and ſervices, and ſo (as the fooliſh virgins) want the oil that would make their lamps burn and their lights ſhine; on which account great danger doth appear, that many, as the foolish virgins, will be ſhut out of the bridegroom's chamber, when thoſe that are ready, who have ſhaken themſelves from the duſt and put on their beautiful garments, having oil in their lamps, and ariſing in the brightneſs of this glorious day of the Lord, having their affections ſet on things above, where Chriſt is, and not on things that be upon the earth, enter with Chriſt into the wedding chamber."

He was a moſt zealous and faithful labourer in the exerciſe of his gift, for the edification of the churches both at home and abroad; he went to America on this account three times (where he purſued his journey and the work before him, oftentimes in imminent danger of his natural life, committing it to God that gave it) firſt in the year 1671, in company with George Fox and others, then in 1675, and laſtly in 1683, where he had great and good ſervice both in the miniſtry of the word, and in ſettling meetings for Chriſtian diſcipline; of which meetings, as well as thoſe for worſhip, he was a moſt conſtant attender, and frequently had meetings among friends and ſtrangers in divers remote parts of this kingdom, and in England; often travelling in the ſervice of the goſpel in great bodily weakneſs and pain, ſupported by faith, when natural ability failed, even to extreme old age; ſo that in the 83d year of his age he travelled on this account. He had an excellent gift in prayer and ſupplication, ſo that his appearance, when under the performance of that part of divine worſhip, was with that dread and awfulneſs upon his ſpirit, that it made a great impreſſion on the ſpirit of friends, cauſing tenderneſs many times to come over the meeting.

It is hard to ſay, whether he was more eminent in doctrine or in diſcipline: for the latter he was eminently gifted, gladly joining with George Fox and others, in ſettling men's and women's meetings through this nation, and when ſettled, he was a zealous labourer in them; a faithful elder, worthy of double honour, the care of the churches being much upon him; particularly, he was greatly concerned that none ſhould be admitted members of ſuch meetings, but thoſe who were of clean and orderly converſations, walking as examples to the flock, having a concern upon their minds for the promotion of truth and righteouſneſs in the earth; and many times he had good ſervice in ſuch meetings, in clearly declaring the neceſſary qualifications of ſuch; beginning at thoſe whom the Lord put his ſpirit upon to aſſiſt Moſes, who were men fearing God and hating covetouſneſs; and going through the law and the prophets, and the doctrines delivered by Chriſt, as alſo the diſcipline and order of the primitive church coming out of the wilderneſs; that the authority of truth might be kept up in theſe meetings, and the members thereof be faithful men, ſo that juſtice and true judgment might be maintained in all thoſe meetings without reſpect of perſons, and judgment be placed upon all diſorderly and unruly perſons; that God's houſe might be kept clean, which holineſs becomes for ever.

He had a great ſhare in bearing the burthen in the heat of the day, which he cheerfully underwent, and was endued with valour and courage, ſuitable to the work it pleaſed God to call him unto, in the times of the ſufferings of friends in this nation.

He was of a ſolid and grave countenance and deportment, ſtriking an awe over the wicked, light and airy; a reprover of and terror to evil doers, yet an encourager of thoſe who did well, but with prudence, ſo that none might be lifted up thereby. He did not ſeek after popularity, but was rather ſhy, not intimate with any he had not trial and true knowledge of, nor willing to lay hands ſuddenly on any but thoſe he found to be faithful.

He was temperate in eating and drinking, his diſcourſe weighty, and moſtly on the things of God, tending to edification and inſtruction; a careful and tender father, [if he erred on either hand, it was rather on that of auſterity than indulgence] a firm friend and kind neighbour, given to hoſpitality; and notwithſtanding the great charge he was frequently at, in his travels in the work of the miniſtry, yet he was exemplarily liberal in collections for the poor; &c. and, although it was often his lot to be ſeparated from thoſe dear enjoyments of wife and children, for the goſpel's ſake, he ordered his temporal affairs with diſcretion, ſo that there might be no want in his family, in his abſence, of either commendable employment or neceſſaries. A man of a truly publick, Chriſtian ſpirit, frequently and ſucceſsfully concerned in applying to thoſe in authority, for the relief of ſuffering brethren, as well as other ſuffering Proteſtants, in the time of the troubles in Ireland, A. D. 1689; being zealous to make uſe of the influence he had with the government, for the publick good.

He has left behind him a journal of his own life, to which are annexed ſeveral epiſtles, and a letter of examination to all ſuch who have aſſumed the place of ſhepherds, herdſmen and overſeers of the flocks, of people of all ſorts, in Chriſtendom, to ſee if their accounts be ready, and what order their flocks are in, with a few lines of good news to the ſeveral flocks, dated from Jamaica, A.D. 1672, as alſo a paper concerning offerings to God in prayer and ſupplication, which is here inſerted from his journal, and recommended to the obſervation of thoſe whom it concerns, viz.

" The offerings, that are acceptable to God, muſt be offered in righteouſneſs, and with clean hearts and lips, for the Lord is pure and holy, and will be ſanctified of all that come near him, and his worſhip is in ſpirit and in truth; wherefore prayer, ſupplication, and addreſſes to God being a ſpecial part of his worſhip, muſt be performed in ſpirit and truth, with a right underſtanding, ſeaſoned with grace, and with the word of God, even as the ſacrifices under the old covenant were to be brought and offered in clean veſſels, ſeaſoned with ſalt and with fire: ſo all, now under the new covenant, who approach ſo nigh to God, as to offer an offering in prayer, muſt have their hearts ſprinkled from an evil conſcience, and their bodies waſhed in clean water, and ſanctified with the word of God, and their ſenſes ſeaſoned with his grace and ſpirit in divine underſtanding, and muſt offer that which is ſound and pertinent, which the ſpirit makes known to be needful, whoſe interceſſion is acceptable, as a ſweet ſmelling ſacrifice in the noſtrils of God, and a ſavour of life unto life, and of death unto death, though in ſighs, groans, or few words, being ſound, pithy, and fervent. For the Lord knows the mind of the ſpirit, that makes interceſſion to him, who hears and graciouſly anſwers." Lev. xxi. 6. xxii. 20, 32. Deut. xxxiii. 19. Pſalm lxxiii. 13. Mark ix. 49, 50. Lev. ii. 13. Heb. x. 22. Rom. viii. 26, 27.

"And now all are to be careful, both what and how they offer to God, who will be ſanctified of all that come near him, and is a conſuming fire, who conſumed Nadab and Abihu that offered ſtrange fire, though they were of the high prieſt's line. And there may be now offerings in prayer and ſupplication, in long repetitions of many words, in the openings of ſome divine illuminations, with a mixture of heat and paſſion of the mind, and zeal beyond knowledge, and in this heat, paſſion and forward zeal, run on into many needleſs words and long repetitions, and ſometimes out of ſupplication into declaration, as though the Lord wanted information; ſuch want the divine underſtanding, and go from the bounds and limits of the ſpirit, and will of God, offer what comes to hand, (like that forced offering of king Saul, which Samuel called fooliſh, and the ſtrange fire and forced offering,) and laviſh all out, as if there were no treaſury to hold the Lord's treaſures, that may open and preſent to view at times, for their own benefit; ſo ſuch in the end coming to poverty and want, ſit down in the dry and barren ground: wherefore all are to know their treaſury, and treaſure up the Lord's openings, and try the ſpirit by which they offer, that they may know the Lord's tried gold, and not mix it with droſs or tin, and know his ſtamp, heavenly image and ſuperſcription; and not counterfeit, waſte, or laviſh it out, but mind the Lord's directions, who will call all to an account, and give to every one according to their deeds, and all the churches ſhall know, that he ſearches the heart and tries the reins." Deut. iv. 24. Lev. x. 1, 2. Heb. xii. 29. 1 Cor. xiv. 17. 1 Sam. xiii. 12, 13. Iſa. l. 11. Mat. xii. 35. Rev. iii. 18. ii. 23.

"As under the old covenant, there was the Lord's fire, that was to burn continually on the altar, and received the acceptable offerings: ſo there was ſtrange fire, which was rejected, and the offering that was offered therein. And now in the new covenant there is a true fervency, heat, and zeal, according to the true knowledge of God, in the ſpirit and word of life, that dies not out, in which God receives the acceptable offerings: ſo there is alſo a wrong heat of ſpirit, and zeal without true knowledge, that with violence, through the paſſion of the mind and forwardneſs of deſire, runs into a multitude of needleſs words and long repetitions, thinking to be heard for much ſpeaking, but is rejected, and is a grief, burthen and trouble to ſenſible weighty friends, who ſit in a divine ſenſe of the teachings and movings of the Lord's good ſpirit, in which they have ſalt to ſavour withal, though the affectionate part in ſome, who are not ſo ſettled in that divine ſenſe, as to diſtinguiſh between ſpirit and ſpirit, is raiſed with the flaſhes of this wrong heat and long repetitions, which augments the trouble of the faithful and ſenſible, who are concerned for the good and preſervation of all." Lev. vi. 13.

'We read that the prieſts of Baal in their offerings were earneſt, hot, and fierce, and cut themſelves, making "long repetitions from morning until evening, ſo kept the people in expectation to ſmall purpoſe;" 1 Kings xviii. 26, 28, 29. but Elijah having repaired the Lord's altar, and prepared his offering, in a few ſenſible words [pertinent to the matter and ſervice of the day and time] prayed thus in the ſpirit and power of God, "Lord God of Abraham, Iſaac, and of Iſrael, let it be known this day, that thou art God in Iſrael, and that I am thy ſervant, and that I have done all theſe things at thy word. Hear me, O Lord! hear me, that this people may know, that thou art the Lord God, and that thou haſt turned their hearts back again, which the Lord heard and anſwered." 1 Kings xviii. 36, 37, 38. So here a few ſenſible words, with a good underſtanding pertinent to the matter [without needleſs repetitions] were prevalent with God.

'And our Saviour Chriſt Jeſus, when he taught his diſciples to pray, bade them, "not be like the hypocrites, or heathen, who uſed many repetitions, and thought to be heard for their much ſpeaking. Therefore, ſaith he, be not ye like unto them, for your Father knoweth what things you have need of, before ye aſk him." Mat. vi. 7, 8. And the prayer which he taught, is full of matter, and to the purpoſe, though comprehended in few words, and all his diſciples and apoſtles are to learn of him, and obſerve his directions, and not the manner or cuſtoms of the heathens and hypocrites, in this weighty matter of approaching nigh unto God with offerings, in prayer and ſupplication.

'Our Saviour alſo left us a good example, written for our learning, when he was under the ſenſe of drinking that cup of ſufferings for the ſins of all mankind, and to offer to God that great offering for their ranſom, he prayed in theſe words: "O my Father, if thou be willing, remove this cup from me, nevertheleſs not my will, but thine be done." Luke xxii. 41, 42. And in giving thanks in theſe words, "I thank thee, O Father! Lord of heaven and earth, becauſe thou haſt hid theſe things from the wiſe and prudent, and haſt revealed them unto babes, even ſo, Father, for ſo it ſeemed good in thy ſight." Mat. xi. 25, 26. And how many more examples in the Scriptures are on this account, full and pertinent to the matter, comprehended in few words, and not like the heathen in tedious repetitions, who think to be heard for their much ſpeaking. Therefore all who approach unto God with their offerings, are to be watchful and careful, both what and how they offer under this adminiſtration of the ſpirit, and diſpenſation of the new covenant.

'I have travelled under a deep ſenſe and concern in this matter for ſome time.

'William Edmundſon.'

The 12th of the Firſt Month,
1695.

He alſo wrote an epiſtle of advice to friends, which was publiſhed in the year 1701, containing wholeſome caution againſt many ſuperfluities then creeping in, with reſpect to eating, drinking, apparel, furniture, trading and farming; to which he ſubjoins ſome admonitory hints relating peculiarly to the women in the exerciſe of their ſpiritual gifts, wherein he ſignifieth, that although in this day that Chriſt is repairing the tabernacle of David, raiſing up the ruins thereof, and reſtoring the church into her ancient order, where the wiſe-hearted and inſpired may work for God and their own ſalvation, men their part, and women their part, by the appointment of Chriſt the great and wiſe undertaker; and women inſpired with the teſtimony of Jeſus may pray and propheſy; and even ſuch faithful and approved women, who are truly inſpired and gifted for the work of the miniſtry, may, as the Lord moves, go forth and travel in that ſervice with the unity of faithful elders and brethren;

yet, that, as in preparing for the tabernacle of the old covenant, the women had, by the wiſdom of God, the eaſy part, the needle-work allotted to them, being the weaker veſſel, and of weaker capacity, although help-meets in their places to the men; ſo now, in repairing the tabernacle of the new covenant and reſtitution of all things, the inſpired women have, in general, the eaſier part of the work allotted to them, (according to the rules and inſtructions, laid down in holy Scripture, in the ſecond chapter of Titus) ſuitable to their temper, capacity, and ability, and the men the harder labour in this work, as travelling journies to publiſh the doctrine of the kingdom of Chriſt, often attended with hardſhips, ſufferings, perils, and temptations of divers ſorts, which in general the hardy temper, capacity, and ability of man is the better adapted unto. Thus does he expreſs himſelf concerning this matter, telling us, that he has ſometimes obſerved ſome miſcarriages and ſcandals to have befallen ſome, for want of a due regard to the bounds and limits appointed by the wiſdom of Chriſt; not that he was an enemy to womens preaching, as ſome have inſinuated, but tender of the glory of God, and jealous leſt at any time they ſhould make an ill uſe of the evangelical liberty of ſpeaking to edification, exhortation, or comfort, which they enjoy in our Chriſtian ſociety.

To conclude; this great and good man, having laboured in doctrine and diſcipline for the good of the church above fifty years, according to the ability given of God, through many troubles, deep exerciſes, and perils of divers kinds by ſea and land in the wilderneſs, by robbers and blood-thirſty murderers, by open oppoſers and enemies to truth, and worſt of all, by falſe brethren under the ſame profeſſion, was made at length to triumph in him in whom he had believed, ſaying, as he often did in his old age, that the Lord was his ſong and his ſtrength; and having run the Chriſtian race and kept the faith, departed this life in peace with God, unity with his brethren, and good-will to all mankind, in the 85th year of his age, and 57th of his miniſtry.

The following is a genuine epiſtle of the ſaid W. E. written in his old age to his friend, and fellow-labourer in the goſpel, George Rooke in Dublin, on occaſion of an intended journey of theirs to the north of Ireland, from which his ſickneſs appears to have prevented him.

Tenele, ———— 1704.

'Dear Friend G. R.

'I received thy kind letter per R. S. by which I underſtand thy purpoſe in the will of God to viſit friends in the North the next week, if the increaſe of my illneſs do not let.

'Now, dear George, I muſt take notice of thy care and kindneſs for and towards me; yet the public ſervice for the Lord and his people muſt be preferred before all, in which point it is to be doubted many are behind-hand in their day's work; and as to the preſent affliction I lie under, it is very uncertain, only to the Lord, which way it may turn, for it hangs in the balance of ups and downs; but through the Lord's mercies, and friends prayers, my ſharp afflictions are mitigated within the compaſs of my weak abilities, and eſpecially in the night-ſeaſons, which are made ſomething eaſy, and friends daily viſits of love, from ſeveral places, is refreſhment in the Lord Jeſus; and as to that of deſiring to ſee me in Dublin, I can ſay with a good heart, I am clear of them all, and I hope of the blood of all men in the ſervice of the Lord and my generation; and I well remember when I was at Dublin laſt, in the public meeting, being filled with the power and ſpirit of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, in which many heavenly principles were cloſely ſpoke to, in the authority of which I told them, as at many other times, I was clear of all their tranſgreſſions, if I ſhould never ſee them there again; for I have not ſhunned to declare the whole counſel of the Lord as he was pleaſed to reveal it to me, and he is ſtill ſupporting over both the frowns and ſmiles of the ſpirits of this world in the teſtimony of truth and faith of Jeſus, which, by the Lord's aſſiſtance, I have kept through many oppoſitions and contradictions of divers kinds: and what have I now to do of my day's work? my outward parts grow feeble, but bleſſed be the Lord of my abilities, in the main I am as ſtrong as ever, and long and deſire before all things to be diſſolved from this old, decayed houſe of clay into my lot of reſt, which the Lord hath appointed for me, where all the clamours of the unfaithful to God, and falſe to their own profeſſed faith and principles, cannot reach me.

'And now, my truſty friend, thou knoweſt my inclination was to have borne thee company to the North, to viſit friends where my firſt labours in truth's ſervice were, and where my firſt ſufferings were, and to have taken my leave of them in the love of God, and ſweet communion and comfort of his holy ſpirit, as I did with friends of Munſter, laſt at Clonmel, where we had a ſweet comfortable parting in that which is over death and the grave; but being put by, I deſire my true love in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt may be remembered to all true-hearted, faithful friends and brethren; that they may know I am not afraid of death or the grave; with deſires that they may ſo ſteer their courſe, that when the time comes that will overtake all, with comfort of ſpirit to the praiſe of God, they may ſay, "Death, where is thy ſting?" and "Grave, where is thy victory?" This is a combat belongs to this warfare: bleſſed are they that overcome; in order to which the Lord gird you with ſtrength and courage, and with his ſpirit of wiſdom and counſel, and of a ſound mind, that in a noble reſolution, in the fear of God, you may ſtand firm for his teſtimony in all its branches, as it is received and eſtabliſhed.

‘ Dear George, I ſcribble over this, under great infirmity of body, but hope it will be accepted. My true and hearty love is to thee, in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, whether in life or death, the will of the Lord be done.

‘ William Edmundſon.’

Beſides other miniſtring friends from abroad, Benjamin Holme was here this year, and ſpent ſeven months in this viſit; having meetings pretty frequently among ſtrangers, and being inſtrumental to the convincement of ſeveral in this journey.

In ſome part of his travels he had been accompanied by John Burton, with whom having parted, he went towards Londonderry, accompanied by Patrick Henderſon, intending to have had a meeting in that city, which the magiſtrates would not permit, but diſperſed thoſe who came together; whereupon Benjamin wrote to the magiſtrates, ſhewing how diſagreeable it was to Chriſtianity thus to treat men who came to call the inhabitants unto repentance: alſo he and Patrick wrote to the inhabitants of the city in general, reminding them of the late calamities they had been under, and of their forgetfulneſs of God’s deliverance of them, for which ingratitude, with other provoking ſins, the Lord would bring his judgments on them, if they did not timely repent.

After this our ſaid friends had ſeveral meetings in that county, and in the county of Donnegal, among ſtrangers, as alſo in the province of Connaught. Benjamin alſo travelled into Munſter twice, and had ſeveral meetings among ſtrangers, and from thence paſſed again, through ſome parts of Leinſter, into Connaught a ſecond time, and had ſeveral meetings with the people in that province: he alſo viſited thoſe few friends that had lately been convinced near Sligo, having a particular concern upon his ſpirit to ſtrengthen and encourage them to a faithful perſeverance in the way of life and peace.

In the Second month, 1713, Benjamin and three other friends, coming to Longford, ſet up their horſes at an inn, deſiring of the landlord that they might have a meeting in a room in his houſe, to which he conſenting, they went to invite the people, and acquaint the ſovereign; who ſaid he had nothing againſt their having a meeting, but deſired them to acquaint Benjamin Spann of it, who was both a juſtice of peace and miniſter of the pariſh. The friends, conſidering him as a magiſtrate, thought it proper to ſpeak to him; accordingly Benjamin Holme, and Benjamin Parvin, went to him and told him, that they had appointed a meeting that day there at their inn; but he, in a furious manner, told them they ſhould have no meeting in that town. B. Holme mildly told him they did not come to aſk his leave, but as he was a magiſtrate, to acquaint him with it, and that he might come to it if he pleaſed, and pleaded the queen's toleration for liberty of conſcience, and ſo parted for that time. Their landlord hearing of this their ſucceſs, being ſomewhat cowardly, ſaid, he durſt not by any means let a meeting be held in his houſe; 'For,' ſaid he, 'Mr. Spann will ruin me.' Whereupon B. Holme and B. Parvin, went to ſeek for another place, but meeting with the ſaid prieſt in the ſtreet, he attacked them afreſh upon the ſame ſubject. B. Holme, as before, pleaded the queen's toleration (but the prieſt, in a furious manner, denied that either man or woman in England or Ireland, could grant a toleration), and deſired him to do as he would be done by. The prieſt ſaid, 'That is no rule for me;' upon which they came to an argument, in which the prieſt finding himſelf pinched, called for a conſtable; but no conſtable appearing, he laid hold of B. Holme himſelf; and, ſeeing the gaoler near, he commanded him to take him into cuſtody, and the prieſt led him by one arm, and the gaoler by the other, till they put him into the dungeon; and after uſing abuſive language, the prieſt alſo himſelf laid hold of Benjamin Parvin, and delivered him to the gaoler, who obeyed his orders, and put him alſo into the ſame place, where the friends ſat together in great peace and ſweetneſs for about ſix hours; and then the gaoler took them into a room above ſtairs, where ſeveral friendly perſons came to ſee them; and among them one that brought them a diſcharge from the prieſt, upon condition they ſhould promiſe not to come again, nor hold any meeting in or near Longford. They told him they could make no ſuch promiſe, letting him know that no true miniſter of Chriſt was his own maſter, but muſt anſwer the requirings of him that had called him into his work and ſervice; and ſo they parted, and were locked up that night in the room, where they lay on the boards in their coats and boots. Next day a friendly man, a merchant in the town, ſent them a bed; and B. Parvin aſked the gaoler, whether he had any thing from the juſtice but his bare word; he anſwered, 'No.' B. Parvin told him, he thought he could not lawfully detain them above twenty-four hours without a mittimus, and that then they would demand their liberty. The gaoler ſaid he would go and tell Mr. Spann that, and ſo he did, and in a ſhort time came again, and ſaid he had a mittimus. They deſired a ſight of it, and with ſome intreaty got it, and found the tendency of it to be, 'that whereas they came in contempt of the queen's authority, by force and arms, in a hoſtile manner, to the terrifying the queen's peaceable ſubjects, to hold a Quaker's meeting in the borough of Longford,' &c. When they read it, they told the gaoler it was falſe, and demanded of him where their arms were; and that it was not they that did contemn the queen's authority, but the prieſt, who had in the open ſtreet, before the crowd of people that gathered about them, denied that either man or woman in England or Ireland, could grant a toleration for liberty of conſcience. The gaoler went to the prieſt and reported to him the converſation they had had, and when he returned to them, he ſaid the prieſt wiſhed he had never ſeen them, who in the evening of the ſame day, ſent an order under his hand to the gaoler for their liberty; whereupon the gaoler told them, they were free from their commitment, but he wanted his own and the ſheriff's fees. They told him they were innocent priſoners, and therefore they could pay no fees. He ſaid he would forgive them his part, but the ſheriff ſaid they ſhould pay their fees, or lie in gaol till they rotted, and commanded the gaoler to turn them into the dungeon again; which he did not, but gave them their liberty two nights, upon their word to return to the gaol if the ſheriff did not acquit them, which he did at laſt without their paying any fees. When B. Holme was ſet at liberty from his confinement at Longford, he went a ſecond time into Ulſter, being accompanied by Alexander Seaton, and they viſited divers places in the county of Down, as Dunaghadee, Newton-Clanobuys, Cummer, &c. having large meetings among the Preſbyterians, unto whom they were drawn forth, in the love of God, to declare the way of truth. Our ſaid friend B. Holme publiſhed this year at Dublin, 'A tender Call and Invitation to all People, to embrace the offers of God's Love, and to break off from thoſe things that provoke him to anger, before the day of their viſitation paſs over.'

This year (1713) it was propoſed to the national meeting by friends of Ulſter, that they apprehended it might be of ſervice to publiſh ſomething concerning the univerſal love of God to mankind, and againſt that erroneous principle of abſolute predeſtination to all eternity; and accordingly the chapter in Robert Barclay's Apology, treating on this ſubject, with a preface to it by John Chambers, was ordered to be reprinted to the number of two thouſand, as alſo two thouſand of Alexander Pyott's Apology.

John Hall, of Monktheſelden, in the county of Durham, was here this year, and beſides viſiting friends and others in the three provinces, delivered the following prophetic warning* in ſeveral cities,

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* As the compiler of this hiſtory deſires to diſcharge the part of a faithful hiſtorian, and, in the foregoing part of this work, hath related inſtances of prophetic declarations, which appear to have been viſibly accompliſhed; ſo he thinks himſelf obliged alſo to relate ſuch declarations of this ſort, whereof the viſible completion hath not as yet appeared; of which kind is this here mentioned, beſides ſeveral others to the like general purpoſe, viz. Intimating that God would ſpeedily pour forth his judgments upon the people, for their ſins and diſobedience: in reference to which it may be obſerved,

1ſt. That the ancient Jews, when a prophet had foretold calamities which did not come to paſs, made great allowances in their cenſures of that prophet, in conſiderations of the great mercies of God: concerning which we may undoubtedly very ſafely ſay with the prophet, Lam. iii. 22. "It is of the Lord's mercy that we are not conſumed, becauſe his compaſſions fail not." Thus though the prophet Jonah did, by divine direction, denounce deſtruction on the city of Ninevah, and this within the limited time of forty days; yet, upon their repentance, we read, chap. iii. 10. that "God ſeeing their works, that they turned from their evil ways, repented of the evil he had ſaid he would do unto them, and he did it not." And, in Geneſis xviii. upon the interceſſion of Abraham with God, on occaſion of the denunciation of the deſtruction of Sodom, God ſaid, "If there ſhall be found ten righteous perſons in the city, I will not deſtroy it."

2dly. That the "judgments of the Lord are a great deep," Pſalm xxxvi. 6. And as to prophecies, even divers of thoſe recorded in holy Scripture, it is no new thing for them to be obſcure, it being allowed that many of them have not been underſtood until they were fulfilled.

3dly. If it be ſuppoſed that ſome of the perſons concerned in theſe declarations might, from their great zeal againſt ſin, conclude that the judgments of God were nearer to be poured out, towns, and villages in this kingdom, in the Second, Third, and Fourth months of this year, viz.

'My friends,

'I am come in the dread and fear of the great and Almighty God, to proclaim the great and terrible day of the Lord amongſt you, that is come, and coming upon all ſin and wickedneſs. Haſte to repentance, I beg it of you, leſt the day come upon you at unawares; and remember that you are this day warned to the ſalvation of God; and whether you will hear, or whether you will forbear, God will be clear of your blood; and unto this I am concerned to add, that a terrible and grievous plague God will ſend into this your land and nation, that ſhall ſweep away thouſands of its inhabitants; they ſhall lie dead in their houſes, and dead in the ſtreets; there ſhall ſcarcely be a people living found willing to bury them, their ſtench ſhall be ſo great. Oh repent and turn from your evil ways, that God may ſhew you mercy.'

Signed by 'John Hall.'

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upon an ungrateful and rebellious people, than they really were, this will be no objection againſt, but an argument for, preſerving a record of this ſort, even as an inſtructive leſſon of humility, fear, and caution, eſpecially to ſuch who may apprehend themſelves authoriſed to publiſh any thing concerning the determinations of Providence: which undoubtedly over-rules the various ſucceſſions of peace and war, plenty and ſcarcity, ſickneſs and health, diſpenſed unto nations according to adorable wiſdom; which diſpenſations, though they may be often very myſterious to ſhort-ſighted frail man, and though the puniſhments due to ſinful nations and particular perſons, may not be apparently and ſuddenly inflicted in this life, yet inaſmuch as the doctrine of rewards and puniſhments in a ſtate of futurity, when every man ſhall be judged according to his works, is now revealed, publiſhed, and univerſally received, it behoves us in the mean time to exerciſe patience and ſubmiſſion to the divine will, and reſt aſſured that the time haſtens when thoſe who "obey not the goſpel of Chriſt, ſhall be puniſhed with everlaſting deſtruction," according to 2 Theſſ. i. 9.

Accounts were given from Ulſter, that there was a great openneſs to hear truth declared in many places in that province; and more ſtirrings in the minds of people to receive truth than for ſome time paſt; and that ſome were convinced, eſpecially in ſome parts of the county of Derry, near Dunclaudy, and near Sligo and Scarnegirah; and that there were a few near Monaghan convinced, who held a meeting for the worſhip of Almighty God.

Upon a repreſentation and complaint offered from one of the provinces to the National meeting, in the Ninth month this year, that ſome under our profeſſion are too much captivated with the love of earthly things, and more earneſt in the purſuit of the riches and greatneſs of this world, than of the heavenly treaſure that would enrich their ſouls unto life eternal; and that, in the preſent time of outward eaſe and plenty, there is as much need as ever for friends to be heartily and zealouſly concerned, againſt thoſe things that tend to draw into the world, or a liberty from under the croſs; advice and caution was given forth from the ſaid National meeting, that friends, in this day of outward tranquillity, might not be eager in laying hold of opportunities of launching into great things in order to get riches, or to the endangering the properties of others; and it was deſired that every monthly meeting might inſpect into theſe things.

This year died John Chambers, a native of Scotland, who ſometimes travelled abroad in the work of the goſpel, yet his moſt continued ſervice and labour was in Dublin, where he reſided about ſixteen years, the friends of which city have given an ample teſtimony concerning him to the following purpoſe:

'He was one whom it pleaſed the Lord to viſit very early, in order to prepare and ſanctify him as a choſen veſſel for his ſervice; and whilſt but a youth, to endue him with a gift in the miniſtry; in which, being faithful, he grew and became ſkilful in the word of righteouſneſs and myſteries of Chriſt's kingdom; and, having a diſpenſation of the goſpel committed to his truſt, a neceſſity was upon him to preach the ſame in the love of Chriſt which conſtrained him thereunto, and he freely miniſtered of the gift he had received, according to the ability God gave, as a good ſteward and ſervant to many for the Lord's ſake, labouring for the ſalvation of ſouls; but more particularly, he was zealouſly concerned that thoſe who had known God's gracious viſitation to their ſouls, might, in an eſpecial manner, beware of an inordinate love and deſire after the lawful things of this world, leſt thereby the good ſeed ſhould be hindered from bringing forth fruit to perfection. He was earneſt with ſuch who, having been deſcended of godly parents, that had ſerved the Lord faithfully, and been honourable in his church, were of pretty orderly converſation among men, and had a clean and plain outſide, and a form of religion by education, that they ſhould not truſt in theſe things, but be earneſtly concerned to ſeek after God for themſelves, that they might witneſs the waſhing of regeneration and circumciſion of the ſpirit, that they might be Iſraelites indeed, Jews inward, and the ſeed of Abraham by faith in Chriſt Jeſus, and ſo ſucceed their parents in the line of righteouſneſs. He was very helpful to friends upon many occaſions, having good natural endowments, ſanctioned by the inſpiration of the Almighty, whereby he was well qualified not only for doctrine, but alſo for diſcipline in the church, and to ſtand in defence of the truth againſt oppoſers. He was ſharp in reproof to wilful and obſtinate ſinners, but when any had ſlipped, through weakneſs or ſudden temptation, and were truly humbled under godly ſorrow for the ſame, he was very tender toward them, in order to their reſtoration. He departed this life in peace, in the thirty-ninth year of his age.

This year alſo died Sarah Baker, alias Peyton, born at Dudley in Worceſterſhire, on whom it pleaſed the Lord to beſtow a gift in the miniſtry when about the age of twenty-one, in the exerciſe of which having laboured both at home and in Ireland and America, ſhe afterwards was married to Samuel Baker, an honeſt friend of the city of Dublin, where ſhe reſided for the moſt part of the remainder of her time, and was very ſerviceable to truth and friends in many reſpects; being devoted to the ſervice of God, and a diligent labourer and fellow helper with her brethren in the goſpel; and, in the authority of Chriſt Jeſus, who had called her into that ſervice, did freely and frequently, in larger and leſſer aſſemblies, preach and teach the things concerning the kingdom of God, and the redemption that is in his Son Chriſt Jeſus, in whom male and female are one, and, as a faithful mother in Iſrael, was carefully concerned, not only to feed the babes in Chriſt, but, as furniſhed by him, to give unto the houſhold in general a portion of meat in due ſeaſon, rightly dividing the word of truth committed to her, and ſpeaking the ſame faithfully, that ſhe might be clear in the ſight of God of the blood of all men. She often mourned for Sion's ſake, and for the abominations committed in the land, pouring forth fervent ſupplications unto God the Father, in the name of his beloved Son Chriſt Jeſus, for the proſperity of his church, and tranquillity of the nations; and, as one ſkilful in lamentation, would invite others thereunto, that both male and female might mourn apart, firſt for themſelves, and then for others. She had alſo good ſervice in womens meetings, being a diligent follower of good works, in relieving the poor and viſiting the ſick and afflicted in body or mind. When outward abilities declined, her inward ſtrength was renewed, and her lamp being trimmed, did burn clearly, through the ſupply of heavenly oil, to the concluſion of her time; and at her departure ſhe had the comfort of an evidence of peace with the Lord, and that a crown of righteouſneſs was laid up for her.

The Sixth month, this year, died queen Anne, during whoſe reign friends peaceably enjoyed their meetings for the worſhip of Almighty God; and now king George, through the good providence of God, ſucceeded to the throne of theſe realms, who ſoon manifeſted his mild diſpoſition towards Proteſtant diſſenters, ſo as not in the leaſt to impair the toleration allowed them by law.

Indeed the publick tranquillity was greatly interrupted (1715) by the apprehenſions of the deſtruction and ruin that threatened us, through the rage of ſome reſtleſs people, diſaffected to the king and government, who raiſed a rebellion in Scotland, being animated with expectation of foreign aſſiſtance, whoſe counſels were blaſted, and their progreſs effectually ſtopped through the mercy of Providence: and as in that time of great affliction Friends were calm in their ſpirits, and ſhewed true affection to the Proteſtant intereſt, and peace of the nation, it was well accepted by the government, which hath ſince been demonſtrated in ſeveral inſtances, particularly in their exempting us from the penalties we had been liable to, for our conſcientious refuſal of fighting and ſwearing, of which hereafter.

In the mean time the following addreſs was drawn up on the above mentioned occaſion, and preſented:

‘ To Charles Duke of Grafton, and Henry Earl of Galway, lord’s juſtices, and chief governors of Ireland.

‘ The humble Addreſs of the People called Quakers, from their National half-year’s meeting held in Dublin, the 10th of the Ninth month, 1715.

‘ May it pleaſe the lords juſtices,

‘ The many and great privileges continued unto us under the king’s mild and favourable government, and thoſe in authority under him, more eſpecially that we have liberty peaceably to worſhip Almighty God, according as he hath perſuaded our conſciences, we eſteem great bleſſings, and lay us under great obligations of humility and thankfulneſs, firſt to God and then to the king, for the ſame.

‘ The king having been pleaſed to place you chief governors of this kingdom, we take leave, in our plain way, to congratulate you upon your ſafe arrival here, and to aſſure you that we are well affected to king George and the preſent government, and have a juſt deteſtation and abhorrence of all conſpiracies, plots, and rebellion againſt the king and government; and that as it hath been our declared principle as well as practice, ever ſince the Lord called us to be a people, to live peaceably and behave dutifully toward thoſe, whom he hath placed in authority over us, ſo, by divine aſſiſtance, we are reſolved, according to our duty, to demean and behave ourſelves towards the king, and thoſe in authority under him.

‘ And as we are a people liable to ſufferings for our tender conſciences towards God, we intreat, that if any ſuch thing ſhould attend us under your adminiſtration, you will be pleaſed favourably to admit us to lay our ſuffering caſe before you, in order to ſeek for redreſs.

'We ſincerely pray to Almighty God, that he may endue your hearts with divine wiſdom ſo to govern, that virtue and piety may be encouraged, and the contrary reſtrained, that ſo his bleſſing may attend you here in this life, and eternal happineſs in that to come.

Signed in behalf of ſaid meeting, by

George Rook,
John Hoop,
John Barcroft
Nicholas Harris
William Sandwith
Thomas Willſon
Nicholas Lock
William Richardſon
Gabriel Clark
John Dennis
Jacob Fuller
Thomas Ducket
Richard Sealy
Thomas Lightfoot
Amos Strettell
Eli Crocket.'

This year Thomas Wilſon and ſeveral other friends, by approbation of the National meeting, went over to attend the ſervice of the Yearly Meeting at London, as uſual; and at this time with a particular view to join friends of England, in ſoliciting further eaſe with reſpect to the affirmation, ſome friends having been great ſufferers, by reaſon they could not make uſe of the affirmation in the form it then was. (See the year 1696).

Beſides other friends of the miniſtry, Thomas Story, from Pennſylvania, was here this year, who had ſeveral meetings, not only among friends, but ſtrangers, and for the moſt part without interruption, except at Kilkenny, where great oppoſition was given, as will appear in the following narrative, which, becauſe it alſo furniſhes divers inſtructive and entertaining remarks, I here inſert, as it ſtands in the ſaid Thomas Story's journal.

'They (at Kilkenny, 1716) had exerciſed their violence and diſturbance upon Elizabeth Jacob once, and another time upon Margaret Hoare and Abigail Craven, and hindered the meetings; which friends had bore for peace ſake, without any complaint to the government; but now they proceeded more violently, for as we were met, according to appointment, on the twenty-ſeventh of the Twelfth month, 171$\frac{6}{7}$, about the ſecond hour after noon, and many of the towns people with us, ſome time after I had ſtood up, in came Arthur Webb and Robert Shervington, and made diſturbance, bidding me to be ſilent, and the people to diſperſe. I did not mind them for ſome time, but went on, till they had ſo diſturbed the meeting that the people were not in a condition to hear, and then I ſtopped and aſked who they were, and by what authority they did that: they anſwered, they were the church-wardens. I replied, that the church-wardens, as ſuch, had no buſineſs with us, or power to hinder us, and deſired them to deſiſt, and ſit down quietly as others did. They ſeeing that would not fright us, as they had imagined, then began to ſpeak to particulars of their own ſort, threatening them with the biſhop's court, and excommunications, and ſuch like frightful things, and began to take ſome names in writing, which ſome being afraid of, went out, but the greateſt part ſtayed, and ſome were much troubled at the ſpoiling of the meeting, for it had begun well; but the envy of ſatan, and the pride of ungodly men riſing higher, whilſt we were at this work, in came one Joſeph Worley, one of the mayor's ſerjeants at mace, and a conſtable, with a warrant, and I being ſtill ſtanding, and ſometimes exhorting the people as well as I could in ſuch diſturbance, they bad me come down and go with them, for they had a warrant from a juſtice of the peace to apprehend me, and diſperſe the meeting. Then I ſaid, we were well known to be an innocent people, readily ſubject to government, either actively or paſſively; but deſired them to have a little patience, till I had cleared myſelf among the people; and they did not ſeem very forward to take me away, till ſome of the ſuperior perſecutors towards the door, cried out, 'How well do you execute your warrant?' And then they took me and Edward Cowper, Henry Ridgway, and John Harris, away in cuſtody up to the juſtice's houſe, but he would not be ſeen, being much troubled that he had ſigned the warrant, it having been ready drawn by Robert Connell, the biſhop's regiſter, and ſent to the juſtice by the biſhop, deſiring him to ſign it, which he had done with great reluctancy. They then took us from place to place, to find a juſtice, but none cared to ſee us; till at laſt we were brought before the mayor, and this Connell, who being one of the aldermen, was alſo a juſtice of the peace for the city, *ex officio*. They were a little rough, and pretty high upon us, but the Lord, for whoſe name and cauſe we were there, kept us over their ſpirit and power. John Boles, John Lackey, Samuel Watſon, Thomas Pim, John Pim, jun. and other friends, continuing the meeting, and many of the people with them; the officers alſo brought away theſe friends laſt named, before the mayor at the ſame time. They charged us with a riotous and unlawful aſſembly; I told them, they themſelves did not believe it to be a riotous aſſembly; and there were many witneſſes that we were peaceable, till the churchwardens and their officers diſturbed us. Then Robert Connell himſelf confeſſed we were not making any diſturbance, but ſaid it was an unlawful aſſembly, the act of toleration in England not extending to Ireland. I anſwered, that act being for the liberty of the ſubject, extended every where in Ireland, and other countries, where the ſubjects of England are ſettled under the crown of England. Then they demanded ſecurity for our appearance at the aſſizes, and for our good behaviour in the mean time. We told them, we were not of ill behaviour, and there-ſore needed not to be bound; but ſeeing their wicked deſign, we all refuſed; they then wrote a mittimus, pretending to ſend us to gaol; but at laſt they told us we might go where we pleaſed; only they charged us, upon pain of what ſhould follow, not to have any more meetings there, for if we did, they would take more ſevere meaſures with us. Then they having a full bottle of wine upon the table, would have given us ſome, but we all refuſed it, at which they were angry, and ſo we left them, and went down to Thomas Dale's at the Swan, where many of us lodged, and pretty many friends being together there after ſupper, we concluded to have another meeting next morning, and ſome friends were appointed to give notice to the mayor, ſome to the juſtices, ſome to the ſoldiers, and ſome to the people of the town.

'28th. The next morning, about nine, we went to this ſecond meeting, where the people did not gather much till about ten, and I had ſtood up about half an hour, when in came the ſame church-wardens, and made the like diſturbance as before, taking names, and threatening the people with the biſhop's court and excommunication, frightning ſome, but moſt did not ſeem to mind them, and I went on for ſome time, till alſo came two of the mayor's ſerjeants at mace, and conſtables, and a great mob after them, and they commanded me to be ſilent, and the meeting to diſperſe. Some of the meaner ſort went out of the houſe as faſt as they could, being fearful; but many ſtaid to ſee the iſſue, and they taking me into cuſtody, I went with them, but they took no other friend. The mayor, this alderman Connell, and ſome others, being together, I was had before them without any warrant; they were very angry, and gave me ſome threatening language. I told them, they were not to inſult the king's peaceable ſubjects, nor exerciſe their own paſſions upon them; but if I had broken any law, I was ſubject to the law, either actively or paſſively, and if they acted without law, they alſo were puniſhable by the law. They were very angry ſtill, and the mayor ſaid, I had aſſembled myſelf with others, contrary to law, and demanded ſecurity for my appearance at the next aſſizes, the ſixteenth of next month, at the city of Kilkenny, and in the mean time to be of good behaviour. Then I ſaid, ‘What law have you here in Ireland againſt our meetings?’ The mayor ſaid, ‘There is no law for them here;’ then ſaid I, ‘There is none againſt them; and where there is no law, there is no tranſgreſſion; and the act of toleration in England gives us, as well as all others the king's Proteſtant diſſenting ſubjects, liberty every where in his dominions. Then they wrote a mittimus as followeth, viz.

‘City of Kilkenny, ſs. By John Birch, Eſq. Mayor of the ſaid city, and Robert Connell, Eſq. one of his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace for the ſaid city.

‘We herewith ſend you the body of Thomas Story, he unlawfully aſſembling himſelf with ſeveral other perſons, and refuſing to find ſufficient ſecurity for his appearance next aſſizes, and for his good behaviour, and him in ſafe cuſtody to keep, till thence diſcharged by due courſe of law; and for ſo doing this ſhall be your warrant. Given under our hands and ſeals this twenty-eighth day of February, 1716.

‘John Birch, Mayor,
‘Robert Connell.’

‘To the Keeper of his Majeſty's
gaol, of the ſaid city, Theſe.’

‘Here is a copy alſo of the warrant, viz.

' Com. Kilken. et. } ſs. ' By Ebenezer Warren, Eſq.
Com. Civit. Kilken. } one of his Majeſty's juſtices of the Peace for the ſaid counties.

' Whereas complaint hath been made unto me, that a ſet of people called Quakers, are riotouſly aſſembled, theſe are therefore in his Majeſty's name, to will and require you, and every of you, on ſight hereof, to diſperſe the ſaid Quakers, and in caſe of reſiſtance or refuſal, to apprehend the bodies of the ſeveral perſons ſo refuſing or reſiſting, and them ſo apprehended to bring before me or ſome other of his majeſty's juſtices of the peace in the ſaid counties, to be dealt with according to law, whereof fail not at your peril, and for ſo doing this ſhall be your warrant. Given under my hand and ſeal this 27th day of February, 1716.

' Ebenezer Warren.'

' To the ſeveral Conſtables and Officers,
in and through the ſaid Counties.'

' This juſtice Warren having all along in parliament (for he was a member) been friendly and kind to friends in all their concerns, and being inadvertently precipitated into this affair by the biſhop, we were better ſatisfied that we had this ſecond handle to proceed upon, than to have any occaſion for his name in the conteſt; and ſo I was ſent to the common gaol of the town, among thieves in irons, where I ſtayed not long in the cuſtody of the gaoler, till Anthony Blunt, the ſheriff of the city, a very civil young man, and loyal to king George, came to me, and ſhewed his reſentment ſufficiently at their doings; for he not only called for the mittimus, that we might have a copy of it (which the gaoler had refuſed, being an Iriſh papiſt) but left it in my own hand till he returned, going immediately to ſome of the juſtices (Warren for one) to have their opinions and concurrence in taking me to his houſe, which he readily had, and accordingly took me with him, and provided me a very great room in his houſe, and agreeable accommodations, to the diſappointment of that great epiſcopal envy thus levelled againſt me. All this I obſerved to be the Lord's doings, for the furtherance of the goſpel and his own glory, and the Lord was with me in a good degree, to my great comfort and only ſure help.

'On the Sixth and Seventh days came friends from ſeveral parts to ſee me, and many ſtayed in town till the Firſt-day, being the third of the Firſt month, and in the forenoon we had a meeting in the ſheriff's houſe, where his wife (a very good-natured ſober woman) and family were preſent, and many of the neighbourhood. We had a good open time, wherein I had an opportunity to expoſe Antichriſt and his miniſters, which I am apt to think went to the biſhop's ears, as it did quickly through the town, the people wondering at our boldneſs, not knowing our foundation.

'4th. The next day I went to take the air in the late duke of Ormond's gardens there, and ſome friends with me, and ſeveral people came to us, and among others ſome French Proteſtants, and an Iriſh papiſt; who ſeemed friendly, and repeated ſome verſes againſt ſuch as ſeemed to be religious, but aimed at nothing but promotion and worldly honour and glory by it. I gueſſed what he was, and gave him the following lines, which he took on a piece of paper with a pencil:

Natural religion was ſimple firſt and plain,
Tales made it myſt'ry, offerings made it gain;
Sacrifice and ſhows were at length prepar'd,
The prieſts ate roaſt-beef, and the people ſtar'd.

‘ He ſeemed pleaſed with the verſes. Then I told him ſome people’s religion made them worſe than their natural temper, which could not be right; for the end of true religion is an improvement upon nature, and reſtoration from the fall, even in this life, and rendering men more ſociable and ſafe; but that prieſtcraft of many kinds, tending to one evil end, had, as to great part of mankind, eluded all the means hitherto offered for the help of man, and made a prey of him inſtead of that aid deſigned; for though there is nothing more plain than religion in its native ſimplicity, yet the prieſts, the better to effect their own deſigns, had invented abundance of lying myſteries to confound and amuſe the people, and perſuaded them that offerings of many kinds were eſſentials of religion, which offerings were ever at the prieſt’s diſpoſal, and for his gain and advantage; and taking advantage of the natural propenſity of the people to admire tricks and ſhows, much of that had been invented to gull the people, ſetting them a gazing at ſhows which are of no value, whilſt the cunning prieſts eat up the roaſt, for they dearly love to have the ruling of it, and in whatſoever they differ, in this they all agree, with feigned words to make merchandize of the people; and how to have them for their own gain, and promotion is the great bone of contention, which will ever continue till the people receive the Lord Jeſus, and turn to his light and grace as their true teacher.

‘ In the mean time, as we were at this ſort of converſation, in came juſtice Warren, alderman Haddock, and Clark, the collector of the king’s cuſtoms, and ſome others, and entering into converſation with us, ſome told them of the verſes, and deſired me to repeat them, which I did, to their ſatisfaction; and by degrees they fell to diſcourſe upon my confinement, which they all did with conſiderable reſentment, and ſome of them obſerved that, to make a ſhow now after the people had talked ſo broad in the ſtreets, the mayor, and that party, had ſhut up the maſs-houſes, which before had been connived at; and alſo how angry they were with our meeting the day before, but could not help themſelves, ſince I being a priſoner, could not be hindered from ſpeaking to ſuch as came to me: and very friendly they were.

'In the mean time in came the mayor and alderman Connell in a great chaſe, which was heightened to ſee theſe perſons with me converſing ſo friendly together. Their buſineſs was to perſuade juſtice Warren, alderman Haddock, and whom they could beſides, to join with them to ſend me out of the county, from conſtable to conſtable; for I becoming very burthenſome to them, they had fallen upon this contrivance to get rid of me; and their power extending no further than the town, they could not ſend me out of the county, but out of the town only, and then they feared I would come in again immediately, but if out of the county, being ſome miles, it is probable they imagined I would not take the pains; but in this, inſtead of helping themſelves, they were worſe; for as they advanced towards us, I began to ſpeak to theſe perſons with me, above-named, concerning the grounds upon which my adverſaries built all this their ſtructure, viz. upon a ſuppoſition that the toleration act extended not to Ireland; but I told them they were miſtaken, for all men by nature are free, till that freedom is taken away, either by policy or force. Some penal laws then, made by an antichriſtian policy, and applied by tyrannical force, having obſtructed the liberty of the ſubjects of England for a time, yet that liberty was not deſtroyed, but that force being removed, liberty revived, and turned into her natural channel; for there are many ſtatute laws in England, wherein though there are new forms and clauſes of enacting, yet, in reality, are not initiatory of new matter, or new laws, or privileges never before claimed or enjoyed by the people of right; but declaratory only of rights and privileges in poſſeſſion by them and their anceſtors before, endangered by evil counſellors to kings and princes, who, for their own advancement in favour, are too frequently the wicked inſtruments of tyrannical and enſlaving counſels, where they meet with any degree of propenſity in the tempers of their princes biaſſing them that way; and (of like nature is this act of toleration in England) which native rights and privileges all Engliſhmen carry along with them into all regions of the world, where they ſettle under the regimen of the crown of England, now upon a very worthy head, who declares for liberty to all his Proteſtant diſſenting ſubjects throughout his dominions the world over, and that indulgence they now enjoy every where but here. The act of toleration then extends to Ireland, America, and all the king's dominions, being in its nature declaratory, not only of Engliſh, but alſo of goſpel liberties, and which we now inſiſt upon againſt the unjuſt force of ſuch as oppoſe themſelves here; and that this is and ever hath been the mind of the king and his predeceſſors, ſince that law was made, is plain, by extending that liberty and indulgence here, as likewiſe to all his Engliſh dominions; and not only thus, but the king hath given us his royal word for his protection, upon ſeveral addreſſes on ſundry occaſions, and particularly upon one from our laſt Yearly meeting at London, the twenty-ſixth day of the Third month, 1716; and another ſince from our laſt National meeting at Dublin here in Ireland, to which he was pleaſed to anſwer in theſe words, viz. 'I thank you for the aſſurance of duty and affection to my perſon and government contained in this addreſs, and you may always depend upon my protection.' I myſelf being preſent with many more when the king received us with this firſt addreſs in his own bed-chamber: ſo great was his condeſcenſion and regard to his loving and peaceable ſubjects. But it ſeems the mayor and magiſtrates here think it their intereſt to inſiſt upon an opinion quite of another nature, at the hazard of what may follow; for you may aſſure yourſelves, we are as jealous and tenacious both of our goſpel and natural liberties, as any body here can be bent to deprive us of them.

'This being finiſhed, the mayor and his party ſhewed a great deal of rancour, but could not help themſelves, and immediately after, the mayor and Connell made application as aforeſaid for aſſiſtance; for their envy had made them both mad and blind; but inſtead of that, the juſtice at once refuſed it, and told them he had done too much of this drudgery for them already, and would do no more, but would leave them to their own meaſures. This vexed them heartily, and occaſioned ſome more words, which were pretty hot on both ſides, till the juſtice, and the reſt that were for the king and indulgence, aſked them how they came to connive at ſo many maſſes in view, and be ſo furious upon the king's friends and peaceable ſubjects. 'And pray, Mr. mayor,' ſaid he, 'what notice have you taken of the ſeditious ſermon you heard yeſterday in the afternoon in the little church? You can hear ſuch with pleaſure, whilſt you treat theſe loyal ſubjects with ſo much ſevere uſage. Did you, ſir, demand that perſon's notes, and bring him to account for it?' Said the mayor, 'That was my lord biſhop's buſineſs, not mine.' 'If that was not your buſineſs, being a matter of religion, pray how comes it to be ſo much your buſineſs to meddle with theſe people, who have given you no other occaſion but about their religious opinions; to which they have equal right and liberty with all other his majeſty's Proteſtant diſſenting ſubjects, and are much more uſeful to the government than ſome you connive at; and pray from whom ariſes the common danger?'

'We, hearing them thus far, and things riſing higher and higher, thought beſt to withdraw and leave them, the diſpute turning favourably on our ſide, and ſo we did: but in the evening the ſheriff told me that they ended in heat; and that the mayor and alderman Connell, finding they could not have any aid of the others, were reſolved, as they pretended, to ſend me out of the town next morning by the conſtables, and that if I came again, they would put me in the ſtocks. I told him I did not fear them, let them run the length of their chain; for though they thought to frighten me with their threats, I knew the laws better than they imagined, and that they could not do it, but by illegal violence.

'5th. But the next day the mayor was much cooler, and intending to go out of town the day following, to meet the judges at Wexford (being deputy clerk of the crown), he took up the mittimus, and ſent me word by the ſheriff, that I was at liberty, and might go when and where I pleaſed; and ſaid alſo, that he would not have done what he had done againſt us but that the clergy, as one man, greatly urged him to it; ſaying, they had thought him a man for the church, but to find him ſo remiſs in ſuppreſſing the Quakers, looked quite otherwiſe: and added, that for his own part he did not care what meetings we had, but intended to get out of the way of it, and leave alderman Connell in his place (as he ought of courſe) till he returned, hoping all would be over in his abſence.

'Upon this meſſage, I told the ſheriff that they had committed me publickly by a mittimus till the aſſizes, as if I had done ſome heinous crime, and as on the one hand I could not accept of a private diſcharge, ſo on the other, this diſcharge was not legal, which was an indication they were either ignorant or arbitrary; for they ought to have returned their proceedings before the judges, that the matter might be heard at the aſſizes; but in a caſe of diſcharge before that, it ought to have been by a *liberate* in writing, under their hands and ſeals, or of ſome other juſtices, and therefore I remained with the ſheriff; which diſpleaſed my adverſaries worſe than before, and heightened their rage.

'Many friends viſited me from divers places, and on the Seventh day (being the 9th of the Firſt month) came ſome from neighbouring places, and conſidering together of a meeting next day, we ſpoke to the ſame perſon about the ſame place we had before, and he readily granted it. So all was prepared, as ſeats, &c. and notice was given by ſome friends, to alderman Connell (now deputy mayor) and the juſtices, of what we intended, but he ſaid he would diſperſe us again, and that we ſhould not have any meeting there; however we went to meeting, and though I had ſome things in my mind to ſay in the meeting, before I found the proper time to ſtand up, one of the church-wardens came, and ſoon after the mayor's ſerjeant at mace, commanding the people to diſperſe, and the church-wardens took their names, and threatened the people with the biſhop's court. Then I reaſoned the caſe a little with the conſtables and ſerjeants, and they ſeemed troubled that they were put upon uſing us ſo, but could not help it, being under authority; and after awhile I went with them, having firſt made ſome remarks on things to the people, and they put me in gaol the ſecond time, where I was hardly well entered, till they brought William Brookfield of Dublin thither alſo; for ſome friends from thence coming to ſee me, and he among others, and the meeting continuing after they had brought me away, William had ſtood up to ſpeak, and ſome of the conſtables took him down and brought him to us.

'We had been in priſon but a ſmall time till the ſheriff came and took us home to his houſe, where the other friends came to us, after the meeting was over, which they held, notwithſtanding all the diſturbance, till it regularly ended.

‘ But the deputy mayor being come from his worſhip ſent for me before him, and ſeemed very angry, and aſked me how I came to appoint another meeting, being in cuſtody? Then, ſaid the ſheriff, ‘ Sir, the gentleman was not in cuſtody, for Mr. Mayor took up the mittimus before he went out of town, and told me he was at liberty, only he would not go out of the town till he himſelf thought fit, being free, as he apprehends, to go or ſtay, at his own election.’ Then, ſaid I to the deputy mayor, theſe proceedings are very arbitrary, what have I done now to deſerve impriſonment? ‘ Did not I tell you, ſir,’ ſaid he, ‘ that I would diſperſe you, (for I had met him in the ſtreet as we went to meeting) and that you ſhould have no meeting here?’ ‘ It is true,’ ſaid I, ‘ but ſince there is no law againſt our meeting, thou hadſt no right to ſay ſo, nor was I obliged to take notice of it, being without law; but beſides, the goſpel muſt be preached, and God muſt be worſhipped according to his own appointment, whoever will make laws to the contrary, or apply an unjuſt and illegal force to reſtrain it.’

‘ Then ſaid one of the ſerjeants to the deputy mayor, ‘ Sir, this gentleman ſaid nothing in the meeting, he was not preaching; and immediately he laid hold on that to get rid of us, (for he wanted his dinner, then ſtaying for him) and ſaid, ‘ I cry mercy, I thought you had,’ and ſo diſmiſt me; but before we parted, I told him that although he had uſed us ſo ill, I had a ſecret apology in my mind for him, and yet could not be poſitive whether he deſerved it; and that was, I conjectured that he did not act altogether from a native ſpring of diſlike in his own mind, but as excited by ſome other perſon or perſons, for ſome other reaſons than perhaps he cared to expreſs or own; upon this he told us, he had no enmity againſt Friends, but had upon occaſion forgiven ſome of them fees (being regiſter of the biſhop's court) to the value of ſeven pounds; and ſo we were diſmiſt without any further conditions.

'About three in the afternoon we went to meeting again in the ſame place, and the biſhop* hearing of it, and walking in the Tholſel, ſaid to one of the ſerjeants, if we met again he would have them put us in the ſtocks till he came from church; but being ſat, many people came to us, and the Lord, who never fails nor forſakes his own, was with us, to our great comfort, whilſt envy and rage tormented our enemies. I had ſomething to ſay, and had gone on ſome time, the people being greatly deſirous to hear, and very ſtill, and ſatisfied with what they heard, till in came the conſtables and ſerjeants again, but ſo faintly, and with apologies, that they could hardly touch me; but after ſome time one of the ſerjeants named the biſhop to be concerned in it, which I laid hold of, and told the people we were not ignorant all this time who was at the bottom, but now they heard plainly it was the biſhop; and after ſome further remarks, viz. that as our Lord ſaid, "Some of you ſhall Satan caſt into priſon," was now fulfilled in us; for though that evil one could not caſt any into priſon by himſelf, as he is a wicked, deſtroying ſpirit; yet as ungodly and wicked perſecutors are excited, hurried and inſtigated to that evil work by Satan, he, as the firſt mover, is ſaid to do it; ſo that they might plainly ſee on what bottom they were who thus abuſed us; and the people (nay even many of the Papiſts who came thither to hear and ſee) were generally diſpleaſed with them, and the truth reached them through our works and patience, and expoſed our enemies to the juſt cenſure of all.'

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* Sir Thomas Veſey.

‘ The ſerjeants and conſtables taking me away, many of the people followed, calling out, ‘ Shame,’ and blaming the magiſtrates, but we deſired them to avoid diſturbance, that no advantage might be taken. The officers became ſo troubled and aſhamed, that they intreated me to walk up to my lodging, till the church was done, but I told them I was in their cuſtody, and could not go but where they took me, and they went with me to the ſheriff's houſe, where they expreſſed their great concern that they ſhould be in offices that ſubjected them to actions ſo much againſt their inclinations; but the meeting continuing after I was brought away, William Brookfield had a good time, in a ſhort teſtimony among them; and though ſome conſtables were there, they ſtood without as if they had no mind to underſtand or hear any thing; and the meeting ended in order, and friends were greatly comforted.

‘ In the evening the deputy mayor ſent me word by the ſheriff, that he would wait on me by and by at my lodging, about that afternoon's meeting. I replied, that was not ſo proper; but that if he had any thing more to ſay, and required it, I would wait on him where he pleaſed. The ſheriff told him what I ſaid, and he ſent the ſheriff to aſk me if I intended to go out of town the next day, and if I did, he had no more to ſay: but if I did not go out, he would put me out. I replied, that if the mayor had ſent to aſk me that queſtion without any threats annexed, I would have anſwered him freely and plainly as to my intent, but was not to be frightened, being at my own liberty to ſtay or go as I pleaſed.

‘ This the ſheriff told him, and then he made the ſheriff take it down in writing, which he did; but told the mayor, he would keep it in his own cuſtody, and accordingly ſhewed it to me; the mayor, I ſuppoſe, thinking to make me afraid by this poor little ſhift. Then I told the ſheriff, I intended to go out of the town in the morning, to take ſome meetings in the country, and return thither again at the aſſizes, the latter end of the week.

'Then the ſheriff told me, the biſhop was very angry with him, and ſo were all his creatures, for letting me have my liberty, and had ſent for him that morning, but that he would not go till we were gone out of the town. I told him he had beſt go then, leſt the biſhop might take ſome advantage, as if he did not regard him; but as for us, we did not fear any thing he could do to us. However he went not whilſt we ſtaid, which was till about the eleventh hour, I going to ſee ſeveral of the aldermen who had ſhewed us countenance, and alſo colonel Warren (before named) before we took horſe, and went openly through the greateſt part of the town, telling the people on every occaſion, I intended to ſee them again at the aſſizes, as on the Firſt-day evening I had told —— Sandford, the colonel's ſon-in-law, whom they had put into the biſhop's court on this occaſion, when he aſked me about it, which he approved much, 'becauſe,' ſaid he, 'they want only to be rid of you, being ſuch a torment to them by ſtaying, that they do not know what to do, and would have you away at any rate; but when they know you intend to come again at the aſſizes, it will perplex them the more.'

'We ſet forward about eleven, on the 11th of the Firſt month, and ſeveral friends being in company, in comparing things, we found we had all had a ſhare of the burthen, but were very eaſy and comfortable in our ſpirits, concluding, that as we had come laden thither, and left our burthen behind, it was gone upon thoſe who had oppoſed truth, and would be heavier and heavier on them, till they ſunk under it, or yielded. And ſo we ſaw the hand of the Lord in the whole, and rejoiced together in him: and that day I went home with Edward Cooper.

12th. ‘ The next day we had a meeting at Samuel Watſon’s, which was a large open meeting, and other people, as well as friends, were ſatisfied.

13th. ‘ The day following we had another meeting at Carlow, which was alſo well filled with people of ſeveral ſorts, and they were very quiet and ſober in time of ſilence. I had taken cold in the tranſactions at Kilkenny, and upon that had taken a fit of the looſeneſs, incident to ſtrangers in the country of Ireland, which had weakened me as to my natural ſtrength; but the Lord ſtrengthened me, ſo as to make me inſtrumental to deliver many things to edification, information, and comfort, and it was a good meeting to ſome, and the people were generally ſatisfied, and ſome much pleaſed; that night I went home with John Lackey, about a mile from Carlow, back towards Kilkenny, where I was well entertained, and had ſome things proper for my diſtemper, as I had had the day before at my friend Samuel Watſon’s.

14th. ‘ The day following being wet and ſtormy, I ſtaid here till the afternoon, and Edward Cooper coming from his houſe on purpoſe, I went home with him that evening, where I ſtaid till the 16th (being the Seventh of the week) and Patrick Henderſon, Samuel Braithwait, Edward Fawcet, and Paul Johnſton coming from Dublin, we went together (and ſome others), to Kilkenny, to ſee what they had to ſay to me at the aſſizes, to which I had been committed by the mittimus aforeſaid, not thinking it honourable in the truth to take liberty by word only, leſt being abſent, they might pretend I had given them the ſlip, to which I had no temptation from firſt to laſt.

‘ In our way we fell in upon the road with ſome perſons going to town, and one of them offering ſome diſcourſe about religion, I perceived, after a while, he was a Roman Catholick; and after ſome other points we came upon that of tranſubſtantiation. He urged the words of Chriſt, where he ſaid concerning the bread, "Take, eat ye all of it; this is my body which is broken before you;" (Mark xiv. 22, 23, 24) and again concerning the cup, "This cup is the New Teſtament in my blood which is ſhed for you, &c." This he ſaid was ſo plain and diſtinct, that there could be no miſtake in it, "This is my body, this cup is the New Teſtament, &c." I anſwered, 'This is a figurative ſpeech: this bread ſignifies my body, which ſhall ſhortly hereafter be broken for you; and this cup (that is to ſay, the wine or liquor contained in it) ſymbolizes or ſignifies the New Teſtament in my blood; for if it were a proper ſpeech, without any figure, many abſurdities would follow againſt both ſenſe and reaſon; whereas Chriſt and his apoſtles ſuit their doctrine and miracles to both; for in working of miracles, if the ſenſes were not infallible (as they are concerning their proper objects, where the ſenſe is not impoſed upon by falſe mediums, or any depravation in itſelf; for all mankind will conclude a man to be a man at firſt ſight, though they may expreſs that thing (or man) by different names, as a man, viz. *anthropos*, *homo*, &c.) then it could not be certainly known whether ſuch a thing as raiſing the dead, making the lame to walk, opening the eyes of the blind, &c. was done at all; and as to reaſon, Chriſt often uſes it; "No man can ſerve two maſters," &c. (Matt. vi. 24). "No man goes to build, but firſt counts the coſt," &c. (Luke xiv. 31). He that goes to war, firſt conſiders whether he is able, with ten thouſand, to encounter his enemy in the field with twenty thouſand, &c. And again ſaith reaſon, It is impoſſible that both the body of Chriſt and the bread, can occupy one and the ſame place, at one and the ſame time; for when the body is preſent, the bread muſt be abſent; and when the bread is preſent, the body muſt be abſent.'

'And again, to the ſenſes; the apoſtle John ſays that, "We have heard with our ears, ſeen with our eyes, and our hands have handled of the good word of life, alluding to the infallible certainty of ſenſe in preaching the goſpel; for the life was made manifeſt, and we have ſeen it; ſo that as certain as is ſenſe in ſenſible ſubjects and objects, ſo certain, and yet more, were and are all the true miniſters of Chriſt of thoſe ſaving and divine truths they deliver from the ſpirit, or eſſential truth and life, manifeſted in them in its own power and virtue, and ſo certain alſo may the hearer be of the truth of the miniſtry, by the manifeſtation and anſwer of the ſame ſpirit working in him.

'I further urged, that it was a figurative ſpeech for this reaſon, becauſe he ſaith, "This cup is the New Teſtament." Were it of wood, ſtone, earth, or metal, that cup, whatever it was, was the New Teſtament, according to thy and your notion, where then is that cup? If the cup be loſt, then alſo is the Teſtament, if the cup be the Teſtament.

'This was a little pinching, and drove my antagoniſt to this reply; viz. This ſpeech of Chriſt hath two parts, the firſt is proper concerning his body, but the ſecond is figurative concerning the cup.

'Thy reaſon for the difference, pray, ſaid I, friend?

'Becauſe (ſaid he) it was impoſſible to drink the cup, but only that which is in it.

''Tis a good reaſon, ſaid I, friend, and holds as well the other way; for if that muſt be figurative reſpecting the cup, becauſe of the impoſſibility of drinking the cup itſelf to common reaſon; even ſo for the ſame reaſon, deduced from the impoſſibility of the thing, I juſtly conclude there is no tranſubſtantiation. But if it had been ſo, then this, and many other like abſurdities, would have followed, viz. whilſt Chriſt ſat at table and ſaid, "This is my body," the body which brake it and called it his body muſt ceaſe to be that body, and the other (the bread) muſt commence and begin to be his body (which it was not before) and be really ſo before he could properly and truly call it ſo, or elſe there muſt be many (nay innumerable ſame bodies) at the ſame time, and yet all but that one body, which is abſurd and unreaſonable.

‘ Again, if whilſt Chriſt ſat at the table with his diſciples, they all eat the whole entire Chriſt the evening before he was crucified; pray then who was left uneaten to be crucified the next day? and if the firſt to whom he gave a piece of bread had all the whole Chriſt, what remained for all the reſt? I think nothing at all.

‘ Then he ſaid, Chriſt told the people, that except ye eat the fleſh and drink the blood of the Son of Man, ye have no life in you; there muſt then be ſome way of eating and drinking to make good that ſaying, which is alſo very plain in its own nature, the fleſh and blood in a proper ſenſe.

‘ To this I anſwered, that Chriſt did ſay ſo, and the people took him to mean properly, and without a figure as ye now do, looking upon the impoſſibility of the thing as it really is in the ſenſe they and you take it; but when they were all offended and gone, he turned to his diſciples and explained it to them, for they ſeemed not rightly to underſtand him, ſaying, will ye alſo leave me; to you ’tis given to underſtand the myſteries, but to them (the world) in parables. What then was the parable, or myſtery? ’tis the ſpirit that quickens, the fleſh profiteth nothing; and thus it is in your own bible as well as ours. I further added, that if therefore the bread were really tranſubſtantiated after the words ſaid, and were the true body and blood of Chriſt, and if they eat and drank the ſame fleſh and blood which then they beheld, it would profit them nothing.

‘ Then, ſaid he, ’tis true the fleſh and blood by itſelf, without the ſpirit, does not profit; but when we eat the fleſh and blood together, we eat the ſpirit alſo, and that quickens as we eat it. This was a deep fetch, and the laſt ſhift, which I anſwered thus, viz.

'This cannot be Chriſt's meaning, for here he does not only diſtinguiſh, but divide between the fleſh and ſpirit; 'tis the ſpirit that quickens. Here is the whole work of quickening aſcribed to the ſpirit, and the ſame that quickens alſo continues life in him who is quickened; for from the ſpirit came fleſh, blood, bread, wine, and the whole univerſe, and all that in it is, and are all continued by the ſame ſpirit, the ſubſtance of all things, but the fleſh profiteth nothing. Here it is ſet apart from the ſpirit, in the ſame ſentence, and profiteth nothing to be eaten; and for the further interpretation of this, obſerve firſt the words of Chriſt to ſatan, "Man ſhall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God;" the words which proceed out of the mouth of God are ſpirit and life, as ſaid the Lord Chriſt, who is that word, "My words they are ſpirit, and they are life;" which words the apoſtles knew by experience to make them alive and preſerve them, as appears, ſecondly, by the anſwer of Peter at the ſame time; whither ſhall we go? Thou haſt the words of eternal life. So that this quickening is not by this ſo groſs and carnal eating and drinking here imagined, but by receiving of the ſpirit through the words of Chriſt, abſtracted and apart from that holy body, and all other corporiety or body; and for the further underſtanding of ſayings of this nature, obſerve that when the diſciples of Chriſt were ſhowing him the temple at Jeruſalem, and the beauty of it, he ſaid to them, "Deſtroy this temple, and I will raiſe it up in three days." The temple at Jeruſalem was the object of their eyes and ſubject of their diſcourſe, which gave them juſt occaſion, as men, to ſuppoſe he meant that temple which they ſaid was forty years in building, and could he raiſe it in three days? they admired at his ſaying; but yet, in the ſequel of things, they underſtood afterwards, though not at the time, that he ſpoke of the temple of his body. Again, in like manner, where he ſaith, "I am the vine, ye are the branches," &c. This may well explain that other ſaying, "I will drink no more of the fruit of the vine, 'till I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom; which can mean no other than as his coming in the fleſh conſecrated the way, and was previous to the coming of the ſpirit, ſo his drinking new wine in the kingdom of God, muſt intend that community of ſpirit, intended in the words of the apoſtle afterwards, concerning the whole church; "We have all been made to drink into that one ſpirit." My opponent by this time being weary of the ſubject, advanced a queſtion concerning the ſpirit itſelf, viz.

'How do you know that ſpirit from another ſpirit, ſince ſatan is transformed into an angel of light, may it not be that evil one, and not the ſpirit of Chriſt?

'I replied, that the divine eſſential truth is ſelf-evidencing, that the quickened ſoul is aſſured of him by his own nature, and quickening power and virtue, as ſaith the apoſtle, "Hereby we know that he abideth in us," 1 John iii. 24. (or to this effect) by the ſpirit which he hath given us; and he that is in a ſtate of doubting, is in a ſtate of condemnation and reprobation, and hath not yet known the ſpirit, but is yet in death and darkneſs, and ignorant of God and Chriſt, and in ſuch, and not in the quickened or regenerated, ſatan is transformed; for ſuch as wanted a proof of Chriſt's ſpeaking in and by the apoſtles, were by Paul referred back to themſelves; "Know ye not your own ſelves, how that Jeſus Chriſt is in you, except ye be reprobates? and again, the ſpirit itſelf helpeth our infirmities, with ſighs and groanings which cannot be uttered, and ſearcheth all things, even the deep things of God." By this time we drew near the town, and then he ſaid, no doubt but I had a good intent in what I did, in travelling ſo in the world; but ſaid, I muſt have ſome good conſiderations for it, (meaning as their prieſts have, gold and ſilver) and mentioned about three hundred guineas for that time. I told him no, we whom God had raiſed up and qualified in ſome degree, in this age to that ſervice, were advanced above any ſuch mean, baſe, and mercenary conſiderations, as to take any thing from men for this labour, which we beſtow freely in the love of God, and by his commandment for the common good of men. Why, ſaid he, the apoſtles were but poor men, and wanted neceſſaries, and muſt have received of the people or wanted. True, ſaid I, then they ſay, having food and raiment, let us be therewithal content, and where that is really the caſe, ſuch as are poor among us, we would not begrudge them that; but it is very ſeldom or never ſo among us, but rather with Paul we can generally ſay, "Theſe hands of mine have miniſtered to my neceſſities," having no deſire that any ſuch thing ſhould be done unto us, and we generally have ſufficient of our own. Then ſaid he, but in caſe your friends, after ſome very good ſermon that pleaſed a great congregation well and generally, ſhould offer you a purſe of two or three hundred guineas, would not you accept it, being freely given?

'I replied, no, I hope it would be no temptation, if ſo it were, which never can be as long as they and I abide in the truth we profeſs, either to give or receive that way; I ſhould rather be greatly troubled to ſee ſo great a degeneracy as to ſubject them to ſo great an evil. Well, ſaid he, I cannot tell, you ſay well, and I am apt to believe you; but if you would not, there are many would be glad of the offer, and make no bones on't, but receive it with both hands.

'I believe it, ſaid I, for there are too many mercenary hirelings in the world, in this age, who though they pretend a miſſion to "go teach and baptize all nations," Matt. xxviii. yet, as unfaithful ſervants, (if they were ſent at all) ſit down where they can have the firſt maintenance, and never move till the voice of a better cry in their ears, and then, and not till then, they run where God does not ſend them.

'There is too much of it, ſaid he, and ſo we parted in friendſhip, with good wiſhes on either ſide.

'Coming to town, with many friends from other parts, it was ſoon known, and many were looking what would be the iſſue of things. William Sandwith being there, he and ſome others went to the judges, and apprized them of matters and the caſe, and how friends and I had been uſed by theſe high-church perſecutors, eſpecially the biſhop of Oſſory now here at Kilkenny; and Amos Strettell, and ſome other friends at Dublin, procured a letter from one of the intended lords juſtices to one of the judges (in his private capacity, not being yet ſworn) to ſee that juſtice ſhould be done us, for the government favoured us, but our enemies and theirs proceeded under a pretence of law that was not to be over ruled; but they inclined to do all they could in honour and ſafety, which was all we deſired of them.

'They ſent for the ſheriff to ſee the calendar, and not finding the mittimus returned, they ſaw our adverſaries had no mind to meddle againſt us, but were willing to drop it, which they rather adviſed us to overlook for that time, ſince we might in time have our meetings free, which was all we deſired; but that evening one of the judges ſaid in open court, when he gave the charge, that it was treaſon in any to pull down or deface any public, religious meeting-houſe; which going quickly through the town, many rejoiced on our account, it being a great ſtroke on our adverſaries; and I made this conſtruction of it, that as the houſe was a circumſtance and accommodation to the meeters, who were of more regard than the houſe, and it only regarded for their ſakes, if it were treaſon to deface the houſe, how much more ſo in thus diſturbing and abuſing thoſe that met therein? which ſome laying hold of, inculcated it among the people to our further advantage upon our enemies.

‘ 17th. The next day (being the firſt of the week) we appointed another meeting in the ſame place, for we were for the ſame cauſe ſtill, the liberty of the goſpel without fear of any, and went accordingly, and a full meeting it was, and very comfortable and quiet to all outward appearance; but I had felt all the night before an inward load and ſting from ſome corner or other, and expected another bout, and ſo it happened; for Patrick Henderſon kneeling down to prayer, in the mean time came in the mayor's ſerjeants, but as civilly as could be deſired, and made no diſturbance during the time of prayer, and one of them went out again ſoon after, but the other ſtaid: a little after prayer was ended, I ſtood up and ſpake a while; but had not got well into the matter in my mind, till the other ſerjeant ſtood up, and with great reluctancy (for we all believed it was much againſt his will) and low voice ſaid, he was ſent of the mayor to command us in the king's name to diſperſe; but quickly added, but if you will not, I cannot compel you, nor have any orders to force, and ſo went civilly away. Then I proceeded in my teſtimony, many things opening to the ſtate of the people, particularly relating to the duty of a Chriſtian, not to believe only, but alſo to ſuffer when thereunto called, and plainly ſet forth the nature and ground of perſecution, ſatan the cauſe, and wicked men his inſtruments in it; as Cain, Jezabel, the high-prieſts, popes and prelates; as they might now ſee in this preſent caſe, though but a ſhadow to what we had met with, not always by plain and open violence, but more generally under the ſpecious pretext of law and right; and then I concluded the meeting in prayer. After the meeting was over, we heard that one of the churchwardens had been there, and he and the ſerjeant which diſturbed us (for the other ſaid he had been troubled in conſcience ſince the firſt time) were ſent for by the biſhop, who in the hearing of the judges (they dining there) examined them about the meeting, what we were doing, and what we ſaid. They told him we were at prayer when they came in, and a good-like, black man, (meaning P. Henderſon) prayed heartily and devoutly for the king and him (the biſhop) too; and all of them, for he prayed for all in authority under him.

'Then the biſhop aſked them if I had preached, and the churchwarden ſaid I did; upon which the biſhop tendered him his oath, it being me his great ſpite and envy was bent againſt chiefly. Then he had the act of uniformity of the 14th of Charles the Second in England (but the 17th in Ireland) brought before him, and diſcourſed upon it with the judges, he thinking it reached us, and would have pumped the judges, and had their opinion on it, but they were wiſer than he, and ſaid nothing, but let him take his own way; for they were ſtaunch friends to the king's intereſt, and were our friends, as knowing our integrity to the king and his government, and ſo the biſhop's rage and envy blinding him (if he could at all underſtand the act) he firſt gave a warrant and mittimus in his own name, directed to the ſheriff of the town, to arreſt and commit me to the common gaol for three months without bail or mainprize; where this antichriſtian judge (for there are many now as of old in the world) intended I ſhould lie, until the full time was expired, without any liberty as before; if either by hardſhip or otherwiſe (for I was then but weak and tender) he had not murdered me in the mean time, for he had, before I went out of the town, ſent for the ſheriff and reprimanded him ſharply, for letting me go abroad in town upon my firſt commitment, threatening to have him before the Houſe of Lords the next ſeſſion of Parliament.

'Our afternoon meeting this day being over, which was very peaceable (for now we had conquered him ſo far as that none diſturbed us) I found a ſecret ſting as I went to the inn with the friends, who lodged there, from Dublin; and we were there but a ſhort time, till I was told there was another warrant and mittimus out againſt me from the biſhop, and then I haſted to my quarters at the ſheriff's houſe, where I expected it; and found that ſuch a warrant had been directed to the mayor, and ſent to the ſheriff to be executed, but it not being directed to the ſheriff, he would not receive it, but ſent it back to the mayor. Then the biſhop, mayor, and alderman Connell, and ſome more conſulted further, and found their error, as to the biſhop's giving a warrant himſelf; for all the act requires in the caſe for which it was made, is that the biſhop, as ordinary, ſhould certify the offence (only relating to thoſe of his own ſect) to any two juſtices, or mayor, &c. and then they to grant a warrant and mittimus, which now the mayor granted accordingly, a copy whereof followeth, viz.

‘ City of Kilkenny, ſs. By John Birch, Eſq.
Mayor of the ſaid city.

‘ Whereas I received a certificate, under the hand and ſeal of the right reverend father in God Thomas lord biſhop of Oſſory, in which he certifies, that Thomas Story, a Quaker, did this day preach in the ſaid city of Kilkenny, contrary to the act of uniformity made in the ſeventeenth year of the reign of king Charles the Second.

‘ Theſe are therefore in purſuance of the ſaid act and certificate, to will and require you, on ſight hereof, to apprehend the body of the ſaid Thomas Story, and him ſo apprehended to convey to the common gaol of the ſaid city, there to remain for the ſpace of three months, without bail or mainprize;

whereof ſail not at your peril, and for ſo doing this ſhall be your warrant. Given under my hand and ſeal this 17th day of March, 1716.

'John Birch, Mayor.'

'To the ſeveral Conſtables and Officers
of the ſaid city.

'This warrant the ſame ſerjeant, which came laſt in the forenoon to diſturb our meeting, brought to the ſheriff's houſe now in the evening, but delayed execution for an hour; and in the mean time ſome friends adviſed with ſome counſellors of their acquaintance in town at the aſſizes; and ſome of them ſaid it was in the nature of an execution, ſo that it might be more dangerous for the ſheriff to give liberty, or let me be in his houſe, than before, ſo that things looked a little harder; but as I had not read the act for a long time, and not remembering the tenor of it, I thought there muſt be ſomething in it to juſtify their proceedings, or elſe they would not have done it, and ſo was reſigned in my mind to ſubmit to it for the truth's ſake, and was very eaſy, being in more danger of too deep a reſentment of their baſe and wicked uſage of me, than of repining at the loſs of my liberty; for I had a view of ſome things to employ my time in, which would have made my confinement much more uneaſy to the biſhop (who now I ſaw, and ſo did every body there, to be the author of all this perſecution upon us) than to me, for the Lord was with me; after ſome time the ſerjeant came into the room (for we let the door be open on purpoſe) and ſerved me with a warrant; but the ſheriff ſaid, I ſhould not go out of his houſe that night however, come on it what would, and ſo I ſtaid there; but the truth ariſing in me, I obſerved the indignation thereof againſt the biſhop, but no enmity in me againſt him, as a man; and after a little inward concern that way, I ſent for the act and read it carefully, and ſaw they were all quite miſtaken; for the act had no relation to us, or our meetings or preaching, but to themſelves, the prieſts and biſhops only; for after the coming in of king Charles the ſecond, there were many prieſts, who in Oliver's days, had been in the benefices (the bone of contention they ever ſtrive for) and finding the ſweet of them, would fain have held them, and yet could not readily ſwallow the Common Prayer and ſervices of the others, which they had furiouſly oppoſed and rejected ſo lately before, till this law forced them, which they generally complied with rather than loſe their gains; which reſpected only their own prieſts, to bring them all to one ſcantling, or uniformity of prayers and worſhip, or image of it, but concerned no other.

'Then, after a while, I told the ſheriff it was falſe impriſonment, and deſired him and others to take down in writing, what time I was arreſted, becauſe there might be occaſion for their evidence; the ſheriff ſeemed a little ſurprized at it that the great biſhop and his counſellors ſhould miſs it ſo far, but took no account of the time.

'The next morning, before I roſe (for I laid till eight, being a little fatigued) ſeveral friends had been with the judges, and they had given their thoughts freely, how much this was againſt the mind of the government to diſturb our meetings, and did not doubt but this would do us ſervice in the end; however they adviſed, that ſeeing how times ſtood (the talk of an invaſion by the Swedes not being over, and that town a dangerous place to be in priſon in) if the biſhop would ſet me at liberty, they would have me chuſe it rather. But of this I had heard nothing, nor would friends give ear, any more than I, to make application to the biſhop, for that he wanted.

'About nine in the morning, whilſt I was at breakfaſt, came the ſame ſerjeant that arreſted me, with a meſſage from the mayor, that he had taken up the warrant and mittimus, and I was at liberty to go where I pleaſed, if I would accept of it. I told the ſerjeant he ought to ſend me a *liberate* under his hand and ſeal, and not think I was wholly at his diſpoſal, to toſs in and out of priſon as he pleaſed, but had my remedy by law againſt him and them who had uſed me thus.

'Then alſo came ſeveral military officers to ſee me, and expreſſed their great diſlike, in their ſoldiery way; ſome of them among themſelves, drinking healths to king George, and all his loyal ſubjects, and damnation to the pope and all rebels; but I diſcountenanced that, ſaying we did not wiſh hurt to the ſouls or bodies of any, though we were greatly engaged to love and honour the king, and be thankful to God, as we truly were, for the liberty we enjoyed under him. 'In all places,' ſaid one of the officers, 'except in this jacobite popiſh town of Kilkenny, with whom we hope to be even ere long, for all their affronts to the king and government.'

'A little after this came the mayor himſelf to my lodging, to tell me I was at liberty, for he had taken up the mittimus and deſtroyed it. I then told him, ſince that violence by which my juſt liberty had been obſtructed, was removed, it was now returned into its own natural courſe, and if I could find it conſiſting with what I profeſſed, I ſhould conſider of ways and means how to do myſelf juſtice againſt ſuch violent and illegal proceedings; but as it was a wrong done me for the ſake of my religion, I might probably bear it with patience for that reaſon, being ſenſible enough of the advantages I had of my enemies. He made very little reply, but civilly departed.

'After this I went to ſeveral places in town to take leave of ſuch of the magiſtrates as had been friendly; for all the king's friends were ſo, and ſome papiſts were troubled at theſe proceedings, as working no good for them.

'Truth was honoured, and gained by all this, and the eyes of many were opened to ſee the biſhop and his ſpirit and party, and what many might expect if he and they ſhould prevail; and many tongues were let looſe, after their ſeveral ways, to ſpeak their sentiments, by all which our perſecutor and perſecutors greatly loſt ground, and fell quite ſhort of their wicked deſigns. But before I departed the city, I met with R. Connell, the peeviſh tool of this proud biſhop, and told him I was at liberty, which he pretended to be ſurprized at; but I told him if I had ſtaid longer ſome of them might have had the more to pay; for it was falſe impriſonment, the act they went upon being about their own prieſts. He deſired me to go to his houſe (being near) and ſee the act; I told him I had ſeen it already. Then ſaid he, 'I have as good counſel as any in Ireland, that ſays it does affect you.' I replied, that I would debate it with all the counſel in Ireland, and that it had no relation to us at all. Then he wiſhed me well, when he could do me no more hurt, and ſo I left him.

'18th. That afternoon about three, I left the town, moſt friends being gone, ſeeing the thing at an end, and went that evening home with Joſeph Firth, to Ballinakill.

'19th. The next day we had a meeting there, which was not large, but a good open meeting, the Lord being near to comfort and refreſh us after ſo much fatigue; for many friends thereabout came to viſit me in my confinement, and ſome or other were always with me, and ſeveral from this place. The earl of Donnegall was in this meeting, and behaved more ſoberly than he was known to do before, being apt to be reſtleſs and troubleſome at ſome other times; and that afternoon I went home with John

Harris to Mountrath, who had been ſeveral times with me at Kilkenny, and now had ſeen the concluſion.

'21ſt. On the 21ſt was their meeting day (the Fifth of the week). It was a large, open meeting, many of the neighbourhood, papiſts and others, being there, and a good time the Lord gave us together.

'23d. On the 23d I went to Mountmelick, lodging at the widow Mary Bale's, and next day had a meeting there in the forenoon, which conſiſted moſtly of friends, and was not very open, but larger in the afternoon, ſome of the neighbourhood coming in, which I generally obſerved freſhens meetings, and many things were opened in the authority of truth, to edification, confirmation and comfort.

'26th. Here I tarried till the Third day afternoon, and then ſet forward towards Dublin, and that night reached only Kildare, and the next day arrived in Dublin, where I was kindly received and lodged at my old quarters, with my friend Amos Strettell, and was at their meeting the Sixth day following, viz. th 29th, which was freſh and open, and we were comforted together in the truth, which as the heavens tranſcend the earth, exceedeth all other enjoyments. Hearing of a veſſel bound for Cheſter (and intending for the Yearly meeting there), I took early care to ſecure my paſſage in it; but the wind not anſwering, I ſtaid the Firſt day following in Dublin, and the meetings were very large, eſpecially at Sycamore-Alley, in the afternoon, where came together a great concourſe of people (hardly a greater meeting ſeen there) and things were open and well, and the bleſſed truth over all, who is worthy above all for ever.

'The wind not anſwering, I ſtaid ſtill at Dublin till the Fifth day, and was at their Third day meeting, where I had ſome time, things opening to many ſtates very cloſe, and I came away eaſy, leaving the better ſort under good ſatisfaction, and many came to ſee me before I went off, and among others captain Smith. He had been in military offices, but being under ſome convincement, was at that time under great inward ſtruggles; for having a commiſſion for a captain of dragoons then offered him, he would gladly have ſeen it lawful for him, and conſiſting with truth to accept the commiſſion and ſell it, not intending to act by it; but upon ſome private diſcourſe with him, he was more ſtraitened about it, and was very tender and humble, and we parted in love and friendſhip, he owning his ſatisfaction in that conference.

'On the Fifth day, the 4th of the month, accompanied by ſeveral friends, I ſet off from Dublin Bay, about two in the afternoon, with a freſh gale about Weſt, and the next day, about the ſame time, arrived at Park-Gate, on Cheſter river, but that evening, the waves being high, went on ſhore there, where we tarried that night at an inn, and next morning went up to Cheſter, and lodged at the Golden Talbot, an inn.'

In the year 1717, died Abigail Abbot, alias Smith, at Moeg, near Charleville, in the province of Munſter. She was daughter of Richard Boles of the ſame place, was married to one Smith, and after her huſband's death was convinced by the miniſtry of William Bingley, about the year 1675, and about eight years after her convincement was called to the miniſtry. She was an eloquent woman, of a majeſtic preſence, much admired and followed. She travelled on truth's account both in this nation and in England, had acceptable ſervice in many places, and ſeveral perſons were convinced by her miniſtry. She was greatly applauded by many, and being not ſtrong enough to bear praiſe, was tranſported into pride thereby, loſt her gift, and fellowſhip with friends, and from the higheſt pitch of applauſe, fell into as low a degree of contempt. It is certain however, that ſhe became ſenſible of her fall, and ſuffered many bitter agonies on that account, paſſing the latter years of her life in retirement, great ſorrow, and mortification, and has left behind her a pathetic paper of ſelf-condemnation, which is here annexed, as a caution to all thoſe that think they ſtand, although in the higheſt ſtation, to take heed leſt they fall.

Beſides the following paper, ſhe alſo afterwards drew up another, wherein ſhe more particularly ſpecified her miſcarriages, and warned thoſe concerned in the miniſtry to watch againſt that luciferian ſpirit, which would deck and adorn itſelf with the gifts and graces of the Holy Spirit, and not to value themſelves upon any gift which God beſtows on them, becauſe that opens a wide door for temptation, and was (as ſhe confeſſeth) the firſt inlet to all the miſeries that befel her: hence ſhe grew impatient of contradiction, and deaf to advice, and at length, in contempt of the good order eſtabliſhed among friends, was married by a prieſt, to a man not in unity with them.

Her paper of condemnation, firſt mentioned, was as follows:

'Friends and people,

'I once thought, that if I might gain all things here below the ſun, yet I would not commit the leaſt ſin knowingly againſt God, who in years paſt evidently enlightened my underſtanding, when I was ſore afflicted in body and mind, and all comforts and help of this tranſitory world failed me; and when I concluded the true worſhip of God was generally hid from mankind, for I knew of none that went heartily enough about it, nor could I ſufficiently bewail thoſe infirmities and imperfections that apparently poſſeſſed and hindered that great work in me, and which I feared too many concluded themſelves ſecure in on eaſier terms. Thus, in a day of great diſtreſs, the Lord was pleaſed to bring down my mind, and reduce my ſpirit into a calm. Then did occur many things which before ſlept unſeen to me, for I plainly ſaw I need not aſcend, nor deſcend, to look for Chriſt, the true Light, that enlightens every man that comes into the world, for his quick and powerful word was in my heart, which teaches to deny every evil and vain thought, by the learning of which a man becomes godly; and ſo the peace of God is ſhed abroad in the heart, even in this preſent world; and in this quiet, peaceable, and comfortable condition, or eſtate, I reſted with God and in his will in all things, withdrawing myſelf from ſociety with any ſort of people, having proved many.

‘ At this time ſome ſaid I was a Quaker, and that I knew it not, which thing I put far from me, not thinking it worth my while to conſider thoſe that were more ſpoken againſt than any I knew, as a poor, whimſical people, led by an erroneous ſpirit: nay, to the degree of bewitching people. But ſome time after this, my heart being drawn near to God in a ſpirit of ſupplication to him, that he would daily renew a right ſpirit within me, then theſe people called Quakers, came afreſh into my mind, with much ſatisfaction in myſelf, that I might ſeek them, to know them whom perhaps the world was ignorant of. This was the firſt moving cauſe that brought me acquainted with thoſe people; and finding them to be an inward people, owning the ſpiritual light and life which comes by Jeſus Chriſt, and makes manifeſt, and reproves the works of darkneſs in the hearts of the children of men, &c. to the end that Chriſt might rule and reign in his temple; for this I loved them, and deſired fellowſhip with them, and after ſome time their love to me in Chriſt was great, with whom God not only joined me in ſociety, but in a ſweet union and fellowſhip, and with them made me partake of many ſeaſons of divine conſolations and refreſhments, which he vouchſafed from his preſence, and alſo gave me power to declare to many, the juſtice and mercy of Almighty God which is in Chriſt Jeſus, whoſe powerful Spirit ſo attended me in it, as not only ſilenced gainſayers, but extorted an aſſent to the truth thereof.

'And now, O all people, which of you could think that ſuch an one as I, whom God ſo evidently and graciouſly viſited with exceeding kindneſs, and as a tender father lifted up the light of his countenance on me, ſhould fall away? He led me by the hand, and forſook me not in my diſtreſſes, but ſupported me through many exerciſes, till he conducted me out of thoſe things, and out of that eſtate to which his wrath by an eternal decree belonged, and in matchleſs mercy brought me into that eſtate, wherein I found peace and comfort with God, and alſo brought me to an acquaintance with that people, with whom he alſo dealt as he did with me, having an evidence in my conſcience, from my own experience, that they were a choſen people of God. Yet let none wonder, but let all hear, fear, and tremble, with watching and prayer continually, leſt any thinking they ſtand, might fall; for the enemy of man's ſoul is as buſy now, as ever he was in all ages, ſtates and conditions; and woe is me, that I, by not keeping watchful, in true humility before the Lord, have done diſmally fooliſh, by letting in a high mind contrary to the mind of Chriſt, who would always have preſerved me, had I kept near him in my firſt ſimplicity; for it is an everlaſting truth, there is no eſtate higher to be attained on this ſide the grave, than a truly humble watchful ſtate, which I neglected, and by reaſon of this I held faſt deceit, and refuſed to return, which many of the Lord's people ſaw, who truly loved me, and tenderly admoniſhed me with many tears oftentimes; but the enemy of my ſoul ſo prevailed over me, and darkened my underſtanding, that I thought they were too ſevere with me, from whence a prejudice aroſe in my vile heart againſt them, and I had not room left in me to receive their Chriſtian counſel and admonition; that in time my underſtanding was ſo clouded, through a murmuring ſpirit which ſoured my mind and perverted my judgment to that degree, that when my friends refuſed to let me take my now huſband in their aſſemblies on my own terms, I fooliſhly concluded, that though I went from the people of the Lord to marry my huſband with a miniſter of the world's people, yet the Lord would ſtill be with me as before, ſeeing he had brought me near himſelf before I knew them: thus Sampſon-like, who ſlept on the lap of his Delilah, I knew not that my ſtrength was departed from me, and ſo, raſhly and reſolutely, I ruſhed into the congregation of the dead, as a dog returns to his vomit, which thing was diſpleaſing to God, and afflicting to his people, and ſo accompliſhed my deſign, which gave date to many miſeries and unſpeakable ſorrows, which can never be repaired by only crying *peccavi.* And the Lord in his juſtice raiſed many and ſtrong enemies againſt me on every ſide; but no lion roared like that in my own boſom, though thoſe without afflicted me ſorely; from which proceeded frettings, quarrellings, wranglings, and boilings of heart; but all this forwardneſs in me did but add ſtorm to ſtorm, ſting to ſting, and burden to burden; all which the ever-merciful God, in his time, made me ſenſible of, how much precious time I had ſpent in muſing how to get out of ſuch a trouble, how to get off ſuch and ſuch a burden, and how to revenge myſelf of ſuch and ſuch a wrong. This, I ſay, the Lord made me ſenſible of, that it was he himſelf was the chief agent, and had the greateſt hand in all my juſt and great afflictions; and it was he that was to be eyed and owned, and not any ſecondary cauſe; and he is juſt in all that is brought upon me, and I have done exceeding wickedly; and when I conſider the truth of this, it enables me to bear with much patience all that God is pleaſed to diſpenſe to me, which hitherto hath been too little, I greatly fear, for ſuch an one as I, who at once abandoned both my religion and my reaſon too, by acting ſuch prodigious and premeditated wickedneſs; ſo that I have nothing to excuſe or ſhelter me from the ſtroke of divine juſtice, it makes ſo directly at me; who by not only acting counter to all I have profeſſed and declared of, but alſo by my great folly, have given occaſion to the adverſaries of the Lord's truth to rejoice and to ſpeak evil of the ſpirit of truth, another than which will never be revealed, which is Chriſt the way; and I greatly fear I have been a ſtumbling block in that to many. This great wickedneſs I myſelf have done, by not keeping the body of ſin under; but I do not complain becauſe of my puniſhment, for I have greatly ſinned; and O how can I ſufficiently bewail, mourn, weep, and lament! O, what pangs, ſighs, and tears, can expiate my guilt? Doubtleſs many ſhall be turned into hell, who never ſinned againſt ſo clear a light, eſpecial love, and precious mercies, ſuch cloſe and ſtrong reaſonings of the ſpirit, and deep convictions of conſcience, as I have done. What lamentations ſhall I take up for the loſs of the preſence of God, which I once had with my ſpirit, and thoſe melting, warming, quickening joys, in which I found peace with God, whoſe free mercies pardoned all my ſins, and whoſe grace adorned my ſoul. Oh, how can I now but wax hot againſt myſelf, and be contented to be trodden under foot by all, as mire in the ſtreets; for miſery is my portion; and as for any comfort, I refer that to God's will only; for could I pour out a ſea of tears, yet then could I not deſerve any thing but the fiery torments of God's hot diſpleaſure; and O that the Lord would not ſpare his ſharp rod, nor withhold his judgments, nor the pangs of hell from before mine eyes, until he, through the mercy and love which is in Chriſt Jeſus, redeem my ſoul thereby, and clothe me with his righteouſneſs once more, before I go hence; for ſurely no ſin ſhall paſs unrevenged, neither great nor ſmall, in this world, or in the world to come.

'And O, all you who have been enlightened, and have taſted how good God is, and have known ſomething of the powers of the world to come, and yet remain lukewarm, or are fallen with me, though not into ſuch a deep pit of mire, as to daſh dirt in the face of God's truth, and people, as I have done; for I know none can parallel me in this our age; ſurely none ſo wicked as I, who have diſhonoured the holy name of God, and on his pure religion brought reproach; weak ſaints I have diſcouraged; my own conſcience is wounded and my ſoul endangered, my candle is put out, my crown is fallen from my head which once covered it, and by which I had knowledge and ſkill how to behave myſelf in the church of God: I am ſtripped naked, and ſpoiled of all that excellency with which God adorned me. O, that all you might be warned, and with me call to mind whence we are fallen, and do our firſt works, and bring forth every forbidden and accurſed thing which hath occaſioned our fall, and the ſtumbling of many; and let us make confeſſion to God, and give glory to him; for had all who have made profeſſion of the everlaſting goſpel, which is the power of God, been faithful in their day, O, what a conqueſt would have been gained over the world that lies in wickedneſs before now; but I am here ſilenced, for I am one that has fled before the Lord's enemies, the accurſed thing was in my own heart; and it hath given cauſe to the heathen to ſay, 'The Lord of Hoſts, whom we truſted in, is not able to ſave us.'

O, friends, what have we done that have not been faithful to God? And it is ſealed from God upon my ſpirit, that the Lord is jealous for his honour, and he hath given ſpace to me and many more to repent, and there remains but a little time behind ere many of us ſhall be cut off out of the land of the living for ever, except we ſpeedily repent, and double our diligence, and cry to the Lord with all our hearts in a ſenſe of our own vileneſs, and of the great wrath we lie under if the Lord ſhould take us away in his ſore diſpleaſure: and O, that my eyes may not ſleep, nor my head nor heart reſt, till the Lord ſhew mercy, and turn from his fierce wrath, and have pity on us! And I deſire none may think that this is ſent abroad into the world, which may laſt amongſt men when I am gone to my place, to pleaſe any ſociety or ſect of people whatſoever, any farther than God might be glorified, and his bleſſed ſpirit of truth, which lights and guides all people into happineſs that will be led by it; I ſay, that this might be reſcued from the tongues of a multitude of ungodly men, into whoſe hands I have betrayed the Lord of life as much as in me lay, Judas-like. Woe is me, ſeeing I have done nothing, nor can do any thing to wipe away this great reproach which I have brought; only this I would have all know, this great, great fault and ſin, is mine; I take it to myſelf; ſorrow, trouble, and great affliction is my due; I take it home to myſelf as the fruit of my own doings, from the hand of the Lord that is jealous of his honour; and though he is long-ſuffering and of great mercy, forgiving iniquity and tranſgreſſions, yet by no means clearing the guilty; they ſhall not go unpuniſhed, either in this world, or in the world to come. And O, that a ſpirit of forgiveneſs from the Lord may reſt upon the hearts of all that truly fear him, ſo as that they may heartily deſire that a ſpirit of judgment from the Lord may reſt upon me here to the purifying of my ſoul, ſo that I might reſt with him hereafter for ever and ever. Amen.' 'Abigail Abbot.'

The book called 'The Spirit of the Martyrs revived,' (1718) being an abridgment of the hiſtory of the martyrs, was now ordered to be printed, for the benefit of youth and others.

In the year 1718, and about the ſixty-fourth of his age, died Samuel Randal, near Cork, whoſe qualifications and good ſervices as an elder, though he had not a publick gift in the miniſtry, deſerve to be commemorated. His grave and ſolid converſation, when but a youth, adorned his Chriſtian profeſſion; but in the ſtation of an elder he was truly deſerving of double honour, being not only a good example himſelf in plainneſs, temperance, and juſtice among men, but alſo zealouſly concerned for the honour of God and promotion of truth; and that Chriſtian diſcipline and good order might be maintained among the profeſſors thereof, and juſtice and judgment duly exerciſed on looſe and diſorderly walkers, and our Chriſtian profeſſion be thereby cleared of the reproach and ſcandal which was by ſuch brought upon it; and in his dealings with particular perſons, or families, he diſcharged his duty faithfully, and without reſpect of perſons. And as he was ſenſible that the converſation of the world, and the eager purſuit after the riches and grandeur thereof, had proved hurtful to many in their ſpiritual condition, he was tenderly engaged to be exemplary in his own conduct in that reſpect; for when probable proſpects of conſiderable opportunities of worldly gain preſented themſelves, he often declined embracing them for truth's and example's ſake. He was cheerfully given up to the ſervice of truth, not only at home, but by a conſtant attendance of both national and provincial meetings for many years, in winter as well as ſummer, until natural ſtrength failed. He died in unity with the brethren, peace with God, and a calm reſignation to his holy will.

The ſame year died alſo Margaret Hoare, alias Satterthwaite, concerning whom we have the following teſtimony: that her converſation was exemplary and edifying as became a miniſter of Chriſt. She was of a good underſtanding, and her conduct attended with great ſobriety, humility, and prudence. She had an excellent gift in the miniſtry, which was as well doctrinal, as ſweetly comfortable and edifying; and ſhe travelled frequently on this account, both in England and Ireland, and had meetings not only among friends, but ſtrangers; and when at home, was very ſerviceable in viſiting friends families, and doing other good offices in the church.

In her laſt ſickneſs ſhe plainly triumphed over death, ſaying that her ſalvation was ſealed to her; and near the time of her departure, uttered theſe, among other ſweet and excellent expreſſions to ſome friends about her: ‘ Remember my dear love to all my dear friends, and tell them, I am going to my God, and their God, to my King, and their King. I have a clear conſcience, void of offence towards God, and towards all men: my ſoul doth magnify the Lord,’ &c.

In the year 1719, and eightieth of his age, died Robert Hoope, of Lurgan, in the county of Armagh, a native of Skelton near Giſborough in Yorkſhire, who came into Ireland in the year 1660. He was educated a Proteſtant after the manner of the church of England; and continued ſuch until ſeveral doubts concerning matters of religion began to poſſeſs his mind; which at length, about the year 1667 or 1668, were effectually cleared up, by the powerful miniſtry of that faithful ſervant of Chriſt, Thomas Loe, who was then viſiting thoſe parts in the ſervice of the goſpel; and from that time he always aſſembled himſelf with the people called Quakers, although he met with many perſecutions and trials by impriſonment, and ſufferings of many kinds. In ſome few years after his convincement, it pleaſed God to beſtow upon him a gift in the miniſtry, in the exerciſe of which he laboured faithfully, to the edification of ſouls; and although his preaching was not with eloquence of ſpeech, yet it was attended with life and power. He was a plain, ſound-hearted man, free from oſtentation, a peace-maker, a true diſciple and follower of Jeſus in ſelf-denial, and preferring the glories of the heavenly kingdom before the periſhing riches of this world, of which he gave a ſignal proof in the latter part of his life, having, for the ſpace of about twenty years before his deceaſe, when his health and capacity might have allowed him to purſue the affairs of this life with a proſpect of an increaſe of outward riches, ſeparated himſelf from the incumbrances of the world, living a life of ſolitude and meditation, and devoting himſelf to the ſervice and promotion of truth.

The years 1718 and 1719 were memorable for the firſt advances towards the deliverance of friends from the ſufferings to which they had long been liable, on account of their conſcientious refuſal to ſwear. Great ſufferings having lately attended them on this occaſion, particularly by litigious, wicked perſons, filing bills in Chancery againſt them, where their anſwers would not be admitted without an oath, (a grievance they had long laboured under *) it was now concluded, that endeavours ſhould be uſed, if a plain affirmation, or ſuch as might be eaſy to all friends, could not be obtained, to get a clauſe in a proper bill to impower the chancellor, and the barons of the exchequer, to receive friends anſwers without an oath, where, and in ſuch caſes as they may think convenient; which endeavours were crowned with a happy ſucceſs: for in the year 1719, in an act of parliament, intituled, ‘ An Act for the Amendment of

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* See above, in the year 1673.

the Law' &c. a clauſe was obtained, allowing friends' anſwers to bills in Chancery upon their ſolemn affirmation, and producing a certificate ſigned by ſix credible friends. The ſame year alſo a clauſe was obtained in an act paſſed for exempting Proteſtant diſſenters from certain penalties they were liable unto, allowing friends the privilege (in common with other Proteſtant diſſenters) of worſhipping God according to their conſcience, without moleſtation, viz. it was hereby enacted, 'That the ſtatute of the 2d of queen Elizabeth, for the uniformity of the Common Prayer, &c. whereby all perſons are required to reſort to their pariſh church or chapel, or ſome uſual place of Common Prayer, &c. ſhall not extend to any Proteſtant diſſenter who ſhall take the oaths of fidelity, &c. provided that the place of meeting be certified to the biſhop of the dioceſe, or to the archdeacon, or to juſtices of the peace at the quarter-ſeſſions, and that the aſſembly be not held with the doors locked, barred, or bolted; and every quaker who ſhall make or ſubſcribe the declaration of fidelity to king George, of renouncing the pope and pretender, with the doctrines of purgatory, tranſubſtantiation, &c. ſhall be exempted from all penalties in the aforeſaid act, and ſhall enjoy all the like privileges and advantages as other Proteſtant diſſenters.

THE

RISE AND PROGRESS

OF THE PEOPLE CALLED

QUAKERS

IN

IRELAND.

CHAPTER IV.

From the regiſtering of Friends Meeting-houſes, in the year 1719, to the year 1751.—The Church in danger from a ſpirit of libertiniſm and luke-warmneſs, in the time of outward peace and freedom.—The ſolemn affirmation firſt granted to Friends of England, through the joint ſolicitation of Friends of that and this nation, and afterwards extended to Friends of Ireland.—Divers Viſits to Friends and Strangers, for the promotion of the Chriſtian Doctrine and Diſcipline.—Summary of the lives, characters, and ſpiritual exerciſes of divers of their eminent Miniſters and Elders.—Chronological Tables of the firſt Settlement of the ſeveral Meetings in Ireland, and of the Viſits of miniſtering Friends: as alſo, a ſummary view of the Sufferings of this People, from the beginning to the preſent Year.

IT is obſervable, that in this time of outward peace, and freedom from ſufferings of divers kinds (1720), to which Friends formerly had been expoſed, cauſe was given for complaints at the Third month national meeting, 1720, of the breach of minutes, through the prevalence of a looſe libertine ſpirit among many of our youth, and a carelefs, ſleepy, ſlothful ſpirit, with reſpect to religious duties, among ſome more aged; and particularly about this time (1721) friends were greatly afflicted on an obſervation of the failings of ſome, in relation to their trading and dealing beyond the bounds of truth and moderation, to the invading the property of others, and obſtruction of the progreſs of truth; and complaint was made of the negligence of divers parents in educating their children in honeſt and ſuitable employments, of pride in apparel, and the high living of ſome above their circumſtances, to the diſhonour of truth, their own hurt, and the trouble of the church. Now in order to ſtop the progreſs of theſe evils, a proviſional viſit was made to the ſeveral monthly meetings, in the provinces of Leinſter and Ulſter; and likewiſe a certain paper intitled, ‘A brief and ſerious Warning to ſuch as are concerned in Commerce and Trading, who go under the profeſſion of Truth, to keep within the bounds thereof, in Righteouſneſs, Juſtice, and Honeſty, to all Men,’ written by Ambroſe Rigg, was now reprinted for a general ſervice, which was as followeth:

‘Many days and months, yea, ſome years, hath my life been oppreſſed, and my ſpirit grieved, to ſee and hear of the uneven walking of many, who have a name to live, and profeſs the knowledge of God in words, yea, and alſo of ſome who have taſted of the good word of God, and have been made partakers of the powers of the world to come, and have received the heavenly gift and grace of God, which teacheth all who walk in it, to deny all ungodlineſs and worldly luſts, and to live ſoberly, honeſtly, and righteouſly in this preſent world; whoſe faithfulneſs (with great reaſon) hath been expected to God in things of the higheſt concern, and to have walked as lights in the world, and in all faithfulneſs both to

God and man, to have ſtood as living monuments of the mercies of the Lord, letting their lights ſo ſhine before men, that they might ſee their good works, both in ſpiritual and temporal concerns; and ſo might have honoured and glorified God in their day and generation, and have convinced or confounded gainſayers, putting to ſilence the ignorance of fooliſh men; whereby the worthy name of the Lord, by which they have been called, might have been renowned through the earth; and his precious truth and glory ſpread to the ends of it; that many through the beholding their good and exemplary converſation in Chriſt, coupled with the holy fear of God, might have deſired to lay hold of the ſkirt of a Chriſtian indeed, whoſe praiſe is not of men, but of God.

'These are the fruits which we have laboured and travailed for, through many and great tribulations, that many might be turned to righteouſneſs, and that the knowledge of the power and glory of the Lord might cover the earth, even as the waters do the ſea. This was, and is, our only end and deſign, which, bleſſed be the Lord, many are witneſſes of, and eſtabliſhed in, to our abundant joy and comfort. But there are ſome amongſt us, who have not walked humbly with the Lord, as he hath required, nor kept in that low eſtate; neither inwardly nor outwardly, which becometh ſuch who are travelling up to Zion, with their faces thitherward; but have launched from the rock which is firm and ſure, into the great ſea of troubles and uncertainty, where ſome have been drowned, others hardly eſcaping, and many yet labouring for the ſhore, with little hopes of coming at it; who have not only brought themſelves in danger of ſuffering ſhipwreck, but have drawn in others, and have endangered them alſo; which hath opened the mouths of the enemies of Zion's welfare, to blaſpheme his great and glorious name; and hath eclipſed the luſtre of the glorious Sun of

Righteouſneſs, both in city and in country: this is a crying evil, and ought not to go unreproved, and that with a ſevere countenance; for God is angry with it, and will aſſuredly puniſh it.

Many have got credit upon the account of truth, becauſe at the beginning it did, and doth ſtill, lead all, who were and are faithful to it, to faithfulneſs and truth, even in the unrighteous mammon, and to let their Yea be Yea, and their Nay be Nay, even between man and man in outward things; ſo that many would have credited one that was called a Quaker with much, and many I believe did merely upon that account, ſome whereof, I doubt, have juſt cauſe to repent of it already: but if truth and righteouſneſs had been lived in by all who profeſs it, there had been no ſuch occaſion given: for they who ſtill retain their integrity to the truth and life of righteouſneſs manifeſted, can live with a cup of water, and a morſel of bread in a cottage, before they can hazard other mens eſtates to advance their own. Such are not forward to borrow, nor to complain for want; for their eye and truſt is to the Lord their preſerver and upholder, and he hath continued the little meal in the barrel, and the oil in the cruſe hath not failed to ſuch, till God hath ſent further help; this is certainly known to a remnant at this day, "who have coveted no man's ſilver, gold, or apparel, but have and do labour with their hands night and day, that the goſpel may be without charge."

'It is ſo far below the nobility of Chriſtianity, that it is ſhort of common civility and honeſt ſociety amongſt men, to twiſt into mens eſtates, and borrow upon the truth's credit (gained by the juſt and upright dealing of the faithful) more than they certainly know their own eſtates are like to anſwer; and with what they borrow, reach after great things in the world, appearing to men to be what in the ſight of God and truth they are not; ſeeking to compaſs great gain to themſelves, whereby to make themſelves or children rich or great in the world: this I teſtify for the Lord God is deceit and hypocriſy, and will be blaſted with the breath of his mouth; and we have ſeen it blaſted already.

‘ And that eſtate that is got either with the rending, or with the hazard of rending another man’s, is neither honeſtly got, nor can be bleſſed in the poſſeſſion: for he that borrows money of another, if the money lent be either the lender’s proper eſtate, or part of it, or orphan’s money that he is entruſted withal, or widow’s, or ſome ſuch, who would not let it go, but upon certain good ſecurity, and to have the valuable conſideration of its improvement; and the borrower, though he hath little or no real or perſonal eſtate of his own, but hath got ſome credit, either as he is a profeſſor of the truth, or otherwiſe, and hath (it may be) a little houſe, and a ſmall trade, it may be enough to a low and contented mind; but then the enemy gets in, and works in his mind, and he begins to think of an higher trade and a finer houſe, and to live more at eaſe and pleaſure in the world, and then contrives how he may borrow of this and the other; and when accompliſhed according to his deſire, then he begins to undertake great things, and get into a fine houſe, and gather rich furniture and goods together, launching preſently into the ſtrong torrent of a great trade, and then makes a great ſhew, beyond what really he is, which is diſhoneſty. And if he accompliſh his intended purpoſe, to raiſe himſelf in the world, it is with the hazard, at leaſt, of other men’s ruin, which is unjuſt; but if he falls ſhort of his expectation, as commonly ſuch do, then he doth not only ruin others, but himſelf alſo, and brings a great reproach upon the bleſſed truth he profeſſeth, which is worſe than all; and this hath already been manifeſted in a great meaſure, and by ſad experience witneſſed. But the honeſt, upright, heart and mind knows how to want, as well as how to abound, having learned content in all ſtates and conditions; a ſmall cottage and a little trade is ſufficient to that mind, and it never wants what is ſufficient: for He that clothes the lilies, and feeds the ravens, cares for all who truſt in him, as it is at this day witneſſed, praiſes to God on high; and that man hath no glory in, nor mind out after, 'ſuperfluous or needleſs, rich hangings, coſtly furniture, fine tables, great treats, curious beds, veſſels of ſilver, or veſſels of gold, the very poſſeſſion of which creates envy,' as ſaid the ancient Chriſtian, Clemens Alexandrinus. Pædag. lib. 2. cap. 3. p. 160, 161.

'The way to be rich and happy in this world is firſt to learn righteouſneſs; for ſuch were never forſaken in any age, nor their ſeed begged bread. And charge all parents of children, that they keep their children low and plain in meat, drink, and apparel, and every thing elſe, and in due ſubjection to all juſt and reaſonable commands; and let them not appear above the real eſtates of their parents, nor get up in pride and high things though their parents have plentiful eſtates; for that is of dangerous conſequence to their future happineſs. And let all who profeſs the truth, both young and old, rich and poor, ſee that they walk according to the rule and diſcipline of the goſpel, in all godly converſation and honeſty, that none may ſuffer wrong by them in any matter or thing whatever: that as the apoſtle exhorted, "they may owe nothing to any man, but to love one another; for love out of a pure heart is the fulfilling of the law:" which law commands to do juſtly to all men: and he that hath but little, let him live according to that little, and appear to be what in truth he is; for above all God abhors the hypocrite, and he that makes haſte to be rich, falls into ſnares, temptations, and many noiſome and hurtful luſts, (1 Tim. vi. 9), which drown many in perdition; "and the love of money is the root of all evil, which while ſome have luſted after, they have erred from the faith, and compaſſed themſelves about with many ſorrows." (1 Tim. vi. 10.)

'For preventing this growing evil for the time to come, let ſuch by faithful friends be exhorted, who either live without due care, ſpending above what they are able to pay for, or run into great trades, beyond what they can in honeſty and truth manage, and let them be tenderly admoniſhed of ſuch their undertakings; this will not offend the lowly, upright mind; neither will the honeſt-minded, who through a temptation may be drawn into ſuch a ſnare and danger, take any occaſion to ſtumble, becauſe his deeds are brought to light. And if after mature deliberation, any are manifeſted to be run into any danger of falling, or pulling others down with them, let them be faithfully dealt withal in time, before hope of recovery be loſt, by honeſt, faithful friends, who are clear of ſuch things themſelves, and be admoniſhed to pay what they have borrowed, faithfully and in due time, and be content with their own, and to labour with their own hands in the thing that is honeſt, that they may have wherewith to give to him that needeth, knowing that it is more bleſſed to give than to receive. (Acts xxii. 35). And if they hear, and are thereby recovered, you will not count your labour loſt; but if they be high, and refuſe admonition, it is a manifeſt ſign all is not well. Let ſuch be admoniſhed again by more friends, and warned of the danger before them; and if they ſtill refuſe and reject counſel and admonition, then lay it before the meeting concerned about truth's affairs, to which they do belong; and if they refuſe to hear them, then let a teſtimony go forth againſt ſuch their proceedings and undertakings, as not being agreeable to the truth, nor the teſtimony of a good conſcience, neither in the ſight of God nor man; this will be a terror to evil-doers of this kind, and a praiſe, encouragement, and refreſhment to them who do well, and nothing will be loſt that is worth ſaving, by this care: for he that doth truth, whether in ſpiritual or temporal matters, will willingly bring his deeds to light, that they may be manifeſted to all, that they are wrought in God.

'Theſe things lay weightily upon me, and I may truly ſay, in the ſight of God, I writ them in a great croſs to my own will, for I delight not, nay, my ſoul is bowed down, at the occaſion of writing ſuch things; but there is no remedy, the name of the Lord has been, and is likely to be greatly diſhonoured, if things of this nature be not ſtopped, or prevented for time to come: therefore I beſeech you all, who have the weight and ſenſe of theſe things upon you, let ſome ſpeedy and effectual courſe be taken to prevent what poſſibly we may, both in this and all other things, that may any way cloud the glory of that ſun, which is riſen amongſt us; and make this publick, and ſent it abroad to be read in true fear and reverence, and let all concerned be faithfully and plainly warned, without reſpect of perſons, by faithful friends, who have the care of God's glory, and his churches peace and proſperity upon them: ſo will the majeſty and glory of God ſhine upon your heads, and you ſhall be a good ſavour of life, both in them that are ſaved, and in them that are loſt.'

'Written by one who longs to ſee righteouſneſs exalted, and all deceit confounded.

'Ambroſe Rigge.'

Gatton Place, in Surry, the 16th of the
Eleventh Month, 1678.

This year (1721) divers friends, according to former practice, by appointment of the national meeting went over to attend the Yearly meeting at London; and particularly Thomas Wilſon, who not only viſited friends there in the ſervice of the goſpel, but tarried a conſiderable time at London, where he joined his aſſiſtance to friends there, who were ſoliciting for eaſe in the ſolemn affirmation; and it pleaſed the Lord to bleſs their endeavours with ſucceſs, the king and parliament granting ſuch an amendment in the affirmation as made it eaſy to all friends, to their no ſmall comfort and joy; which laid the foundation for the ſame indulgence afterwards granted alſo to friends of this nation, as we ſhall ſee in due time.

The form of the firſt affirmation granted to friends in England, in the year 1696, was as follows: 'I A. B. do declare, in the preſence of Almighty God, the witneſs of the truth of what I ſay.'

The form of the affirmation granted this year to friends of England, and afterwards to friends of Ireland, to univerſal ſatisfaction, was this: 'I, A. B. do ſolemnly, ſincerely and truly, declare and affirm.''

In the year 1721 died, John Exham of Charleville, having been convinced whilſt a ſoldier, about the year 1658, and being faithful, according to his ſenſe of his duty, he became zealouſly concerned to viſit the ſmall gatherings of friends in thoſe early days, having received a gift in the miniſtry, which although ſomewhat obſcured by ſome natural infirmities, yet in the exerciſe thereof, he did oftentimes deliver wholeſome and profound truths.

About the year 1667, he proclaimed repentance and amendment of life through the ſtreets of Cork, his head being covered with hair-cloth and aſhes, for which he ſuffered impriſonment. He was concerned in the like exerciſe in the ſame city, in the year 1698.

In the year 1710, being the eighty-firſt of his age, and when almoſt blind, he gave a ſingular inſtance of the fervour and conſtancy of his love to the brethren, by performing a religious viſit to the greateſt part of the families of friends throughout this nation; in which ſervice it appeared evident to thoſe who were witneſſes of it, that he had a ſpirit of diſcerning, for he oftentimes ſpoke very pertinently, without having received any information from men, to the particular conditions of ſeveral where he was thus concerned. He was a man of an innocent life and coverſation, juſt in his dealings, merciful to the poor, and well beloved by his neighbours and friends, and ſeldom miſſed any opportunity of giving good counſel. He continued his reſidence at Charleville through many difficulties and hazards during the laſt war. He was greatly devoted to meditation, commonly ſpending many hours in a day in retirement: was eſteemed to have had a prophetick gift, divers particular inſtances whereof cannot at this diſtance of time be collected; but the two following are well atteſted.

1ſt. Whilſt he was performing the viſit to the families above-mentioned, being in a certain room, he called out and enquired who was there preſent; and then told them, there was among them a youth upon whom the Lord would pour forth his Spirit, and that he ſhould viſit ſeveral nations, which was accompliſhed; a certain young man then preſent, having afterwards received a gift in the miniſtry, which he exerciſed to the edification of the churches both at home and abroad.

2d. Whereas before the acceſſion of king James II. to the crown, the earl of Orrery had a great houſe at Charleville, then a ſplendid ſtructure, unto which there was frequently a great reſort of company. At one particular time, when a large company of great perſons were there aſſembled, ſpending their time in feaſting, mirth, &c. John Exham had an impulſe on his mind to go to the houſe, and call the people there met to repentance, which he accordingly did (a large crowd following him) and denounced the Lord's judgments, and wo, to that great houſe, and that it ſhould be deſtroyed, and become an habitation for the fowls of the air. Hereupon the earl's ſervants attempted to drive him away; but the earl commanded them to let the honeſt man ſpeak. Having delivered his meſſage, he went away, but in a little time returned back, and called for the earl, and ſaid to him, ‘ Becauſe thou haſt been kind and loving to the ſervant of the Lord, the evil ſhall not be in thy days. The event anſwered the prediction ; for the great houſe above-mentioned, in the time of the late wars, ſince the deceaſe of the earl above-named, was deſtroyed by fire, and viſibly became an habitation for the fowls of the air, which built their neſts in it.

The ſaid John Exham died in the ninety-ſecond year of his age, having been a miniſter ſixty years, and retained his zeal and integrity to the laſt.

This year (1722) was memorable for the favour ſhewn by the legiſlature to friends of this nation, in granting them a plain affirmation (in many neceſſary caſes) inſtead of an oath, in the following words, viz. ‘ I, A. B. do ſolemnly, ſincerely, and truly declare and affirm :’ which was granted for three years, and to the end of the then next ſeſſion of parliament.

In the year 1723, being the ſixtieth of his age, and about the twenty-ſeventh of his miniſtry, died John Barcroft of Arkill, near Edenderry. He was the ſon of William and Margaret Barcroft, born at Shralegh, near Roſenallis, in the Queen's county, in the year 1664. He was the firſt friend who came to ſettle near Edenderry after the wars, to which meeting he did belong, and was very helpful at that time, to encourage ſome few families to meet together to worſhip God, and became very ſerviceable in that meeting, which is ſince become large.

He was religiouſly inclined from his youth, a zealous attender of meetings for the worſhip of Almighty God, and a diligent waiter therein, whereby he grew in the knowledge of God, and of the myſteries of his heavenly kingdom ; and about the thirty-third year of his age, it pleaſed God to call him into the miniſtry of the word and doctrine ; but being a modeſt man, he became poſſeſſed with great fears, when firſt perſuaded that the Lord would call him to this work, both from the various cenſures of men, to which he muſt be expoſed, and from his obſervation of the miſconduct of ſome, otherwiſe lively and of large experience in the miniſtry, who yet at times did hurt both to themſelves and the people, by ſometimes exceeding the bounds of their gifts, and multiplying words without life. Under theſe fears and reaſonings with fleſh and blood, he was greatly exerciſed, until the Lord forſook him for a ſeaſon, but was afterwards graciouſly pleaſed to viſit him again, when he gave up to the heavenly call, and in great dread uttered a few words in a meeting, and in proceſs of time became a diligent and ſucceſsful labourer for the good of ſouls, both in this kingdom and in England; having viſited the meetings of friends in the provinces of Ulſter and Munſter, ſeverally, eleven times in the ſervice of the goſpel, to his own ſoul's peace, and the edification of the churches, and been ten times at the Yearly meeting of London.

His miniſtry was plain and lively, nor was he forward to appear without real neceſſity. He was not ſlothful in his outward affairs, but managed them with diſcretion and prudence; yet was fervent in ſpirit, and freely given up to ſerve the Lord, his church and people, and preferred the proſperity of Sion as his chief joy. His converſation among men greatly adorned his profeſſion, being pleaſant and cheerful, yet grave, meek, and humble, preferring others before himſelf; a peace-maker, being ſingularly helpful in compoſing differences, an uſeful help-meet in the government of the church, being gifted for that ſervice, and at the ſame time ruling well his own houſe; a frequent viſitor of the ſick, charitable, and given to hoſpitality.

In the year 1718, being at London, he was under a particular exerciſe of mind, from a ſenſe he believed to be given him of the Lord, of a dreadful day of mortality that was coming upon the inhabitants of England, and particularly the city of London, which he was concerned to publiſh at Devonſhire-houſe meeting, and ſome other places; and in the year 1720, at Dublin, he publiſhed a prophetick warning to the inhabitants of Great-Britain and Ireland, to dread the Lord, and turn from the evil of their ways, before his fury break forth upon them as an overflowing ſcourge, ſetting forth that the meaſure of the ſins of many ſeems now to be full, and that the Lord had ſhewn him that the ſtroke of mortality is near at hand, and that he will ſurely viſit ſpeedily with a great and heavy ſcourge, if not prevented by repentance.

In the firſt month, in the year 172$\frac{3}{4}$, being about the ſeventy firſt of his age, and forty-ſeventh of his miniſtry, died at Hillſborough, Alexander Seaton; who was born at Cuttlecrags, near Lethinty, in Aberdeen county in Scotland, about the year 1652. About the age of ſeventeen years he was put to the college of the old town of Aberdeen; and after being there about two years, was ſome time at the houſe of Alexander Forbes, of Achorthies, whoſe wife was his kinſwoman; and they being friends and exemplary, it pleaſed the Lord to open his underſtanding, ſo that he was convinced of the truth in the year 1675. He was afterwards further informed and confirmed by being preſent at a diſpute between Robert Barclay and George Keith, and ſome ſtudents there; and in the year 1676, he was committed to priſon in the tolbooth of Aberdeen, with many more friends, and there detained about nineteen months. In this time his mouth was opened in a living publick teſtimony to the truth, which he continued to bear afterwards when at liberty, labouring in the goſpel of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, and being inſtrumental to turn people from darkneſs to light, and from the power of ſatan to God: in Scotland, Ireland, and England.

Some time after his marriage, he took up his abode and reſided for ſome years at Glaſgow. A pretty hot perſecution then falling on the few friends that were ſettled there, both by the magiſtrates and a rude multitude of men and women, who not only beat and abuſed friends in their meetings, but, haling them thereout, abuſed them in the ſtreets to the danger of their lives, and committed them to priſon; whereupon this our friend found himſelf engaged in mind to dwell at Glaſgow, not only to bear a part of the burden in the heat of that time of perſecution, but alſo for the ſtrengthening, comforting, and encouraging his brethren to faithfulneſs and conſtancy, through various tribulations and perſecutions; which had ſo good an effect that he was inſtrumental, by the Lord's aſſiſtance, to overcome the perſecutions, ſo that friends enjoyed their meetings more peaceably than before; but the people being ſettled in their empty profeſſions, without an openneſs to receive the truth, he was clear to leave the place; and in the year 1699, he came from Glaſgow, with his family, to Ireland, and ſettled in the town of Hillſborough, in the county of Down. During all the time of his living there, until he grew infirm, he duly attended meetings at home, as alſo the monthly and provincial meetings; in which he was of good ſervice both in doctrine and diſcipline, having a large, ſound, and clear gift in the miniſtry; and although a ſcholar, was not much known to be ſuch in his ſervices for the Lord, not eſteeming that learning in compariſon of the gift of God, and the operation of his Holy Spirit; under which he was a zealous, faithful, humble, and meek labourer in the work of the miniſtry, to the informing the underſtandings of the ignorant, and to the comfort and encouragement of Sion's travellers; prudent, conſiderate, and ſeaſonable in offering his gift, powerful in prayer; in diſcipline of a deep and ſolid judgment, often helpful in difficult caſes; a man of good underſtanding, having been engaged in diſputes with ſeveral prieſts, on divers religious ſubjects, upon which he reaſoned with great clearneſs; a man of few words in converſation, and ignorant in the things of the world. He uſed daily to devote ſome part of his time to religious retirement, and adorned the doctrine of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt by a ſolid deportment and exemplary converſation. In the latter part of his time he was very much afflicted with bodily weakneſs; which he bore with patience and reſignation, and died in great peace and quietneſs, having, among many other ſweet expreſſions on his death bed, declared, that he had partaken of the earneſt of that joy which ſhould never have end.

In the year 1724, and the eighty-fourth of his age, died Thomas Wight, of the city of Cork. He was the ſon of Rice Wight, miniſter of the town of Bandon, who was the ſon of Thomas Wight, who was alſo miniſter of the ſame town, who came from Guildford, in England. His father, Rice Wight, was a zealous man in the diſcharge of his office, and more devoted and tender in that reſpect than the generality of the prieſts, and very ſtrict in the education of his children, according to the manner of the church of England. His ſon Thomas ſerved an hard apprenticeſhip with a clothier in Bandon, and whilſt in his ſervice hearing of a Quakers meeting to be held in that neighbourhood, he went to it out of curioſity; but finding that the people ſat ſilent for a long time, he began to be very uneaſy, and to think within himſelf, that as he had heard the Quakers were witches, he might be bewitched if he ſhould ſtay longer. However, he waited a little longer, until Francis Howgil ſtood up and uttered theſe words: ‘ Before the eye can ſee, it muſt be opened; before the ear can hear, it muſt be unſtopped; and before the heart can underſtand, it muſt be illuminated.* Theſe three ſentences, as Francis opened them to the congregation with great clearneſs and energy, made a deep impreſſion on his mind, and he became, in a great meaſure, convinced of the truth of the doctrine preached; but the prejudice of education, and the ſhame and reproach he underwent from his relations for going to the Quakers meeting, did very much wear off the impreſſion received; until Edward Burrough came to viſit friends and the people in the work of the goſpel in thoſe parts, whoſe preaching was ſo powerful and reaching to the ſtate of his ſoul, and accompanied with ſuch an evidence of truth, that he, with many others, was no longer able to withſtand it; and now he reſolved, through divine aſſiſtance, to be faithful, according to the light received, through all difficulties that might attend; and indeed he became as a proverb and a bye-word among his relations and acquaintance, which he bore with patience, not running into unneceſſary diſputations, but rather giving himſelf up to ſilence, ſolitude, and reading the holy Scriptures. In a ſhort time he betook himſelf to the plain language, and plainneſs of apparel, from a principle of conviction in himſelf, upon which account he was rejected by his relations, and lived for ſome time with his maſter, who had a great reſpect for him, becauſe of his ſingular faithfulneſs and truſtineſs in his ſervice.

In the year 1670 he married, and in proceſs of time had a numerous family, whereupon he betook himſelf to pretty much buſineſs, both in the cloathing trade, and in commiſſions from abroad, and in all probability might, in a ſhort time, have acquired a conſiderable ſhare of worldly riches; but he was ſtopped in the purſuit hereof by an illumination, as he thought, from heaven, deeply affecting his mind with a ſenſe to this purpoſe, that he could not be heir of two kingdoms. Hereupon he grew more retired from the world, and the concerns thereof, and devoted in his mind to the ſervice and promotion of truth, preferring this before tranſitory riches; and particularly, became an able ſcribe and clerk for the meeting of Cork, and for the province of Munſter, from the year 1680, till his death; diſcharging this office from a religious impreſſion on his mind, and zeal for the good cauſe. He was alſo the perſon principally concerned in compiling an hiſtorical account of the firſt riſe and progreſs of truth in this nation; which he finiſhed in the form of Annals to the year 1700, and which was the ground work to the preſent hiſtory. He was a man of an exemplary life and converſation, and good conduct in the education of his children, a pattern of plainneſs, and a diligent attender of meetings both at home and abroad, being zealous for the promotion of truth, both in the particular and in the general. He was ſeized with an indiſpoſition which proved mortal, in the Ninth month, 1724; under which he ſhewed great compoſure of mind, and reſignation to the Lord's will; and on his death-bed teſtified his great ſatisfaction that he had not put off the great affair of the ſalvation of his ſoul to the laſt; ſignifying that God had ſealed his ſalvation to him: to the great comfort of thoſe preſent.

A provincial viſit to the ſeveral monthly meetings in Leinſter (1725) was performed by friends nominated from the ſeveral parts of that province for this purpoſe.

In the year 1725, being about the ſeventy-firſt of his age, and forty-fifth of his miniſtry, died Thomas Wilſon, who was born at Soulby, in the pariſh of Daker, and county of Cumberland, and educated according to the manner of the church of England; and, whilſt a youth, had great hungerings in his ſoul after righteouſneſs and the true knowledge of God and Chriſt; at which time he was a diligent attender of ſermons, and repeater of them, delighting in theſe things as religious duties; ſometimes, after ſermon in the forenoon, travelling eight miles on foot to hear another in the afternoon; but the more he ſought to hear, the more he found his inward hunger and thirſt increaſed; and in the time of ſinging of pſalms a thoughtfulneſs ſeized him, that men ſhould be made holy before they could ſing to the praiſe and glory of God, and his mouth was ſtopped from ſinging with them, through a godly ſorrow poſſeſſing his heart, with humble prayers to God, for the knowledge of the way of ſalvation, he being now become weary both of the heavy load of ſin, and of the doctrines and worſhip of mens making. After long travail of ſoul, the Lord was graciouſly pleaſed to make him ſenſible, that what was to be known of God was manifeſted *in* man; about which time he went to a meeting of the people called Quakers, where a friend exhorted to an inward waiting upon the Lord in faith, to receive power from him over every unclean thought; by which heavenly power men might glorify and praiſe the name of the Lord through the ability of his own free gift. This affected him greatly, being ſenſible that this was what he much wanted, being the word of grace, which the apoſtles of our Lord preached, and turned the minds of men unto; and great fear and trembling ſeized him, ſo that the table whereon he leaned was ſhaken, and he was full of inward cries to this purpoſe; 'Lord, create in me a clean heart.' And now was the time of the Lord's anger, becauſe of ſin, ſhewing him, and condemning, all the evil that ever he had done, and he became willing to dwell under the Lord's judgments, being convinced that this was the way to obtain mercy; and now he found that he muſt ceaſe from the doctrines of men, and hearing the prieſts, and repeating their ſermons (exerciſes which he had before delighted in), and muſt mind the gift of God within himſelf, and ſit down among friends in their ſilent meetings, to wait upon the Lord in retiredneſs of mind, for his heavenly teachings and holy leadings; in the performance of which inward worſhip the power of God did wonderfully break in among them, and many were convinced of the inward work of God, and turned to the Lord with all their hearts; the friends in general became very tender and heavenly-minded, and had great love one to another; the heart-melting power of the Lord being much felt and inwardly revealed when no words were ſpoken; and they experienced what the apoſtles exhorted the primitive Chriſtians unto, viz. Chriſt to dwell in them by faith, and the renewings of the Holy Ghoſt to be increaſed and ſhed on them abundantly in their meetings; whereby ſome were ſo filled that they were concerned to declare, and preach the things of the kingdom of God, and what he had done for their ſouls. Among the reſt, this our friend came forth in a teſtimony for the Lord, in very great fear and much trembling; the word of the Lord through him was as a devouring fire againſt all ſin and iniquity, and he ſoon became concerned to viſit meetings in neighbouring places; and indeed did ſpend the prime and flower of his days in the ſervice of truth, in many years travail in the work of the miniſtry, both in England, Ireland, and America; before his marriage, which he did not accompliſh till the fortieth year of his age. He was an able and faithful miniſter of Chriſt, freely given up to go forth in publick ſervice in the Lord's acceptable time, preferring truth's ſervice before his worldly concerns. His miniſtry was powerful and perſuaſive, and a lively zeal, mixed with love, attended it, and his labours were ſucceſsful to the turning many to righteouſneſs: he had milk for babes, and meat for them of riper years; was ſkilful in laying open the myſteries of life and ſalvation, as alſo the myſtery of iniquity; careful not to miniſter without the heavenly power that firſt raiſed him up in the miniſtry; profound in heavenly myſteries, yet plain and clear in declaring them; excellent in diſtinguiſhing matters of faith and principle, to the general ſatisfaction of the people; a pattern of plainneſs and humility; and, although eminently gifted, choſe rather to give way than to ſtand in the way of any who had a word from the Lord to ſpeak; zealous for the due obſervance of the ancient rules and diſcipline, ſettled in the church by our faithful elders, maintaining that the order and the government of the church was eſtabliſhed by the ſame Divine Spirit which the true miniſtry ſprung from; and that all who ſpeak in meetings for diſcipline, ſhould wait to have their words ſeaſoned with grace, and the influence of that Divine Spirit by which the order and government of the church was firſt ſet up.

He was a man of good natural abilities, but little ſchool literature; of a grave and reſerved deportment, avoiding popularity and imprudent familiarity; yet, at times, very chearful in converſation; cautious of giving juſt offence to any; not buſy beyond his calling. He was ſometimes awfully concerned to ſpeak prophetically of a time of great mortality approaching, and did alſo declare to this purpoſe, that the Lord would ſend his ſervants into the Popiſh countries, to preach the goſpel, which ſhould ſpread and prevail in thoſe dark parts of the earth, though ſome might ſeal their teſtimony with their blood.

His firſt viſit to Ireland was in the year 1682, concerning which ſomething ſingular occurs in his journal, which ſeems not unworthy of notice in this place. Having landed at Dublin, and from thence travelled to ſome other meetings, particularly the province-meeting at Caſtledermot, and viſited friends in the counties of Wexford and Wicklow, and had ſeveral heavenly and ſatisfactory meetings with them, ſome little time after, ſays he, ‘ the motion of life in me for travelling ceaſed, and I durſt not then go further; but returned back to the county of Wexford, and wrought harveſt-work at Lambſtown for ſome time; after which James Dickenſon, from Cumberland, came to viſit friends, with an intention to go into Munſter, and the Lord was pleaſed to open my way to go with him, and we travelled together in true brotherly love, and had a proſperous journey, and I ſaw it was good to wait the Lord's time in all things." When they had travelled through Leinſter and Munſter, James Dickenſon went Northward, but I was afraid,' ſays Thomas, 'of running before my true guide (becauſe they who run, and are not ſent of God, can neither profit the people nor themſelves) and ſo I ſtaid at work in the city of Waterford about ſixteen weeks, and went from thence to Dublin, and ſtaid at the Half-year's meeting, which was large and very good, and ſo took ſhipping and landed at Liverpool, with my former companion, James Dickenſon.*

In the year 1691, he and James Dickenſon, having both had a great exerciſe on their minds to viſit friends in America, went to London, and laid their intentions before the brethren there for their concurrence, which they readily met with; but it ſeemed to be a dangerous time, and was attended with ſome accidents, which proved a ſignal trial of their faith: for the French had then a great fleet at ſea, and while they were at London the rumour was, that it lay about thirty or forty leagues from the Land's End of England, in the way they ſhould paſs. This brought great concern upon them, with many ſupplications to the Lord, that if it were his bleſſed will they might be preſerved. Under their deep trial of ſoul on this occaſion, they were both ſupported by what they believed to be an opening or viſion from the Lord, that it was his holy will to deliver them. James had a more particular foreſight, even of the manner of their deliverance, and told his companion, whilſt they were both yet at London, that the Lord had ſhewn him, that the French fleet would encompaſs them, but that the Lord would ſend in a great miſt and darkneſs between them, in which they ſhould ſail away, and ſee them no more. They freely imparted their minds to one another before they left London, and their openings agreeing with one another, they were confirmed in their belief of their divine original; and being ſtrong in faith that it was eaſy with the Lord to deliver them, they went on board the 9th day of the Fifth month, 1691, and after ſome time of ſailing, they met with the French fleet, who gave them chaſe, coming up within muſket ſhot of them, and began to fire at them hard, a broadſide at every time, when on a ſudden a great miſt and thick darkneſs was interpoſed between the French and them, ſo that they could not ſee one another. Then James aroſe from his ſeat and took Thomas by the hand, ſaying, 'Now, I hope the Lord will deliver us;' having ſo far ſeen the completion of his viſion. Thomas, on this occaſion, was exerciſed three days in faſting and ſupplication to the Lord, that he who in time paſt ſmote his enemies with blindneſs, might be pleaſed to do ſo now, which that it was graciouſly anſwered, the event convinced them; for the French took all the ſhips of their company, except the ſhip which T. W. and J. D. were in, and two more; and all thoſe on board believed the deliverance to be miraculous; and thoſe two ſhips of their company that eſcaped, ſoon after came up with them, and the captain of their veſſel, being a very kind man, called to thoſe in the other two ſhips, to come aboard them, and have a meeting with them; which they readily did, and had a large and good meeting, giving glory to the Lord's holy name for their great deliverance. They purſued their voyage, and landed at Barbadoes in the Sixth month, 1691.

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* See Thomas Wilſon's Journal.

Here, in conjunction with his beloved friend, James Dickenſon, the labours of our friend were great, as alſo in New-England, Rhode-Iſland, Long-Iſland, Eaſt and Weſt Jerſey, Pennſylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Carolina, Antigua, and Mevis, where many were convinced by him: in ſome of which places he paſſed through great perils by ſea and land, lodging out in the woods in the winter ſeaſon. This viſit was particularly ſerviceable to the brethren in Pennſylvania, happening at a juncture when many were ſtaggering in their principles by means of an oppoſition and ſeparation made by George Keith, a man who had been of ſome note among friends, a writer of many books, of reputation for learning, and appearing as a miniſter, whoſe peeviſh diſpoſition and pride of heart ſoon appeared to faithful friends, and thoſe he called a party againſt him. Upon the arrival of our friend and James Dickenſon, he endeavoured to gain them, who, as ſtrangers and worthy friends, might otherwiſe be a weight againſt him; but it was to little purpoſe, Thomas ſoon perceiving the ſpirit and deſign of the man, and the evil tendency of that ſeparation, and ſtood faithful in his teſtimony againſt it, to the comfort of many who mourned in thoſe times of trial and deſolation; nor was our ſaid friend without a ſight of the downfal of that perverſe ſpirit, as the event diſcovered, having at times boldly declared it, and it ſoon after came to paſs.

He viſited Ireland in the ſervice of the goſpel ſeveral times before he came to ſettle here. In the year 1695, he was married to Mary Bewly of Woodhall, in Cumberland, and ſoon after came into Ireland, and ſettled near Edenderry, in the King's County. In the year 1696, he viſited friends in England in the work of the miniſtry, and again in Ireland after his return home, ſtill approving himſelf a diligent and zealous labourer, and having meetings in many places among ſtrangers, of whom ſome received truth in the love of it, and continued faithful thereunto. From the year 1697 to 1713, he often viſited friends in this nation and in England, within which ſpace he was ſeven times at the Yearly meeting in London; and in the year 1713, he undertook his ſecond voyage to America, on truth's account, again in company with James Dickenſon, in which ſecond viſit he had alſo great ſervice, and was comforted in ſeeing the fruit of his former labours.

He continued a zealous labourer in the goſpel, even in advanced years, viſiting friends in England in the year 1721, and at home until the year 1724, when his natural ſtrength failed; and now, near the concluſion of his time, he rejoiced that he had ſerved the Lord in his day, and laboured to promote the truth in his generation; yet as he always had been an humble-minded man, ſo with reſpect to himſelf, near the finiſhing of his Chriſtian courſe, he ſaid, 'Notwithſtanding the Lord hath made uſe of me at times to be ſerviceable in his hand, I have nothing to truſt to but the mercy of God in Chriſt Jeſus;' but he was not without an evidence of his everlaſting peace in the kingdom of God.

In 1726 a general Province-viſit was performed in Munſter.

Benjamin Holme, who came over to this nation in the year 1724, ſpent about two years in the ſervice of the goſpel, and continued his labours this year, having meetings at places where no meetings had been held before, not only among friends, but ſtrangers alſo, who were willing to come to meetings, and many of them heard him with ſatisfaction, and confeſſed to the truth of the doctrine by him preached. He had, particularly, ſeveral meetings at Cork, a meeting at Kinſale, at Bandon, Roſs, Caſtleſalem, Skibbereen, and Baltimore; at Dunmanway, in the market-houſe, he had a large and pretty ſatisfactory meeting, notwithſtanding Scofield, the prieſt of the place, made ſome diſturbance, though ſeveral of his hearers were diſpleaſed with him on that account, and ſpoke well of the meeting, and of what they had heard declared. At his return to Cork he not only had meetings among friends, as they fell in courſe, but likewiſe viſited moſt of the families of friends there, to their comfort and edification. He alſo went Weſtward a ſecond time, and had meetings at Klonakelty, Timolegue, Bandon, Mallow, Middleton, Youghal, Tallow, Caſtlelyons, Capperquin, and Dungarvan, where many attended and ſeemed well diſpoſed to hear the teſtimony of truth. He had alſo, for the benefit of ſtrangers, divers meetings in the county of Tipperary; as at Carrick, Fethard, Piltown, Clonmel, Caſhel, and Tipperary; went to Limerick, and thence into the county of Kerry, in the year 1725, accompanied by Charles Howell, and ſeveral other friends from Limerick, from whence they went to Rath-keale, where they had a meeting among the Palatines and others, in whom there appeared an open diſpoſition to hear the truth declared; next had a meeting at Newcaſtle, and then at Liſtowell, and at Lixna, where four friends went to viſit the earl of Kerry, who kindly received them, and gave liberty to moſt of his family to go to the meeting. He likewiſe told friends, that if ſome of them would come to ſettle there, they might gain more by their converſation than by their preaching. Their next meeting was at Ardfert, from whence they paſſed to Tralee, and had two meetings there in the court-houſe, where many perſons of high ſtation in the world were preſent, and truth was freely declared in the demonſtration of the ſpirit, and to general ſatisfaction. He had ſeveral other meetings in the county of Cork, and afterwards in ſeveral places in the counties of Kilkenny, Waterford, and Limerick; and at Ennis, in the county of Clare, where he met with ſome diſturbance from one Upton, a prieſt and juſtice, who came in a furious manner, and demanded of B. Holme, by what authority he ſtood there, and commanded the conſtable to pull him down, which he did, though with ſome reluctance, and conducted him and friends to the ſaid prieſt and juſtice, whoſe doings ſome preſent reſented, and B. Holme reaſoned with him, telling him, that the king allowed liberty of conſcience, and it was hard that his peaceable ſubjects ſhould be thus treated for no offence committed; after which he grew cool, and quietly diſmiſſed B. H. and friends, and Benjamin had good ſervice among the people.

He had many meetings among the Preſbyterians in the North. At Letterkenny he met with ſome oppoſition from William Span, prieſt and juſtice of the peace, who ſent for him and his companion, John Sharpleſs, of Edenderry, and aſked Benjamin if he had any letter of recommendation from his friends; and he having a certificate from the friends where he dwelt, ſhewed it to the ſaid prieſt, who notwithſtanding this, ſaid he would commit them, if they would not take the declaration of fidelity to the king, tendering them that made in the ſixth year of the reign of queen Anne, which ſaith, ‘ you ſhall defend to the utmoſt of your power.’ They ſaid, they were very free to promiſe to be true and faithful to the king, but not willing to promiſe to defend him to the utmoſt of their power, becauſe that might be conſtrued, that they ſhould take up arms and fight if required, which they could not do; whereupon he, being angry, wrote mittimus's and committed them both: but the landlord and conſtable perſuaded him to let them ſtay a day or two in town, before he ſent them to the county gaol, which was at Lifford, about ten miles diſtant, to which he conſented; ſo being priſoners in their inn, Benjamin wrote a letter next day to —— Forſter, biſhop of Raphoe, acquainting him how they were committed: the biſhop read the letter, and wrote to the ſaid prieſt, who ſoon after ſent for them, and ſet them at liberty, upon their taking the declaration of fidelity made in the ſecond year of the reign of king George, in which are not the words, ‘ you ſhall defend to the utmoſt of your power.’

The meetings he had among ſtrangers were generally ſatisfactory, peaceable and without moleſtation, except ſome few places, and among the reſt at Thurles, where, having appointed a meeting, he met with great diſturbance, chiefly from the Proteſtant prieſt of the town, Walter Thomas, who, as they had grounds to believe, ſent for the kettle-drums and trumpets to beat and ſound in the time of the meeting, to whom Benjamin wrote a letter, repreſenting to him how oppoſite ſuch conduct was to a Chriſtian ſpirit and temper, and reaſoning with him from the Scriptures concerning ſeveral things which the ſaid prieſt had objected againſt our friends.

Another inſtance of the like ſcoffing ſpirit appeared at Kildare, where a meeting having been appointed, while they were at it, a piper was brought in to play amongſt them. After ſome time Benjamin began to ſpeak, and having ſpoken awhile, Edward Medlicot, under-ſovereign of Kildare, came and ordered the conſtable to take him away, and put him with another friend into the ſtocks, which he did, and there alſo the piper was ordered to play, to prevent the people from underſtanding what might be ſaid unto them; nor did he meet with much more civil uſage two or three weeks after, when he appointed another meeting at the ſame place.

The ſaid B. H. continued his labours here until the Third month National meeting, 1727, when he returned to England, having, beſides his good ſervice in the miniſtry, been exerciſed in viſiting the families of friends, and in private, friendly, Chriſtian viſits, to brethren and ſtrangers, to both of which he alſo wrote many epiſtles, breathing forth the ſpirit of true Chriſtian love, and ardent zeal for the promotion of the life and power of truth among the profeſſors thereof. One ſpecimen I ſhall here give of an epiſtle of his, dated at Dublin the 3d of the Third month, 1727.

'To the teachers among the Preſbyterians, that refuſe to ſubſcribe to the Weſtminſter confeſſion of faith.

'As I believe in charity that you refuſe to ſubſcribe to the Weſtminſter confeſſion of faith upon a conſcientious footing, I deſire that you may live up to what the Lord makes known to you to be your duty; and I wiſh that no intereſt or preferment may ever prevail with you to go againſt conviction, or to ſin againſt knowledge: and as you are ſenſible that there is great diſcourſe and diviſion at this time concerning the Weſtminſter confeſſion of faith, I believe it would be great ſatisfaction to many well-inclined people, if you would mention the particular articles in that confeſſion that you think not ſafe for you to ſign, with your reaſons for not ſigning. I confeſs I am glad that it hath pleaſed the Lord ſo far to open your underſtandings, as to let you ſee that it is unſafe for you to ſign ſeveral things that are in that confeſſion; as for inſtance, it ſaith, 'That God, from before the foundation of the world, predeſtinated ſome men and angels to deſtruction, and others to life everlaſting, and that the numbers are ſo fixed or definite, that none can be added to the one, nor diminiſhed from the other.' Which is contrary to what Peter ſaith, Acts x. 34, 35. "Of a truth I perceive that God is no reſpecter of perſons; but in every nation he that feareth him and worketh righteouſneſs, is accepted with him;" as alſo it is very oppoſite to what the apoſtle Paul ſaith, 1 Tim. ii. 4. that "God willeth all men to be ſaved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth." And I think that in the larger catechiſm, where it is ſaid that God hath fore-ordained whatſoever comes to paſs, is very unjuſtifiable; for we read in Jer. vii. 31. "And they have built the high places of Tophet, which is in the valley of the ſon of Hinnom, to burn their ſons and their daughters in the fire, which I commanded them not, neither came it into my heart." Which makes it plain that this was not fore ordained. Alſo they ſay in the ſaid catechiſm, that no mere man, neither of himſelf, nor by any grace given, is able to keep the commands of God, but doth daily break them in thought, word, and deed, which renders God to be a hard maſter, and his ways unequal, if what the wiſe men ſaith be true, Eccl. xii. 13. "Fear God and keep his commandments, for this is the whole duty of man;" although we freely own that no man by his own power and ſtrength, as he is man, is able to do the will of God or any thing that is good, yet we believe there is power and ſufficiency in that divine grace of which the apoſtle ſaith, Tit. ii. 11. "The grace of God which brings ſalvation hath appeared to all men, teaching us that denying ungodlineſs and worldly luſts, we ſhould live ſoberly, righteouſly, and godly, in this preſent world." It was by the ſufficiency of this divine grace that the young men that we read of in the firſt epiſtle of John ii. 13. knew an overcoming of the wicked one; and it was by the power of this that the apoſtle could ſay, that he was able to do all things. We believe, as the Lord ſaid to the apoſtle when he was buffeted by a meſſenger of ſatan, 2 Cor. xii. 9. "My grace is ſufficient for thee;" there is power in this divine grace to enable men to reſiſt the enemy in all his temptations, and to enable them to do the will of God, and keep his commands, as they take heed to it. And we think that in the confeſſion of faith, where it is ſaid that ſwearing, when called before a magiſtrate, is a part of the worſhip of God, is very contrary to the doctrine of Chriſt and the apoſtle James, Mat. v. 34. James. v. 12. with ſome other things in that confeſſion of faith and catechiſm, which we think are not agreeable to the holy Scriptures.' So with deſires that the Lord may more and more open your underſtandings by his holy Spirit, and bring you to the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jeſus, I remain, with true love to you, your loving friend,

'Benjamin Holme.'

The act for the affirmation granted to friends of this nation in the year 1723, expiring, ſolicitation was made for a renewal of it, which was now granted them for the term of ſeven years, and to the end of the then next ſeſſion of Parliament, under this reſtriction, that he or ſhe, the affirmer, ſhall produce a certificate, ſigned by ſix credible friends, of their having been of the profeſſion of the people called Quakers, for at leaſt five years then laſt paſt, if thereunto required.

It having been repreſented from Ulſter province to the National meeting, that the little book entitled, 'A Brief Apology,' by Alexander Pyott, &c. had given great ſatisfaction to divers, particularly among the Preſbyterians, in that province, concerning our principles, with a requeſt that it might be reprinted, fifteen hundred of them were reprinted accordingly, in order to be diſtributed among the people.

This year ſeveral friends of the province of Leinſter and Munſter, viz. George Rooke, Thomas Ducket, William Brookfield, Benjamin Parvin, John Ruſſel, Tobias Pim, Charles Howel, and William Penroſe, performed a viſit to the Monthly meetings in the province of Ulſter, for the promotion of church-diſcipline, and ſeveral of them alſo had good ſervice in the miniſtry of the goſpel, and their viſit was to the edification of friends and their own ſatisfaction.

Our ancient friend James Dickenſon, often mentioned elſewhere, was at the National meeting this year, and offered to their conſideration, whether it might not be of ſervice to collect the total annual ſufferings of friends in this nation, from the beginning; as alſo an account of the number of priſoners, and of thoſe who died in priſon, together with the reſpective governments under which thoſe ſeveral ſufferings were ſuſtained, and of remarkable perſecutors, and likewiſe of thoſe who ſhewed favour to friends, which propoſal was well accepted and put in execution, and the account printed in the year 1731.

Among other miniſtring friends who viſited this nation this year (1728) was Jane Fenn, from Pennſylvania, who beſides her good ſervices in the goſpel, both among friends and ſtrangers, did alſo, in company with our friend Jane Gee, of Moate, perform a viſit to moſt of the families of friends in Dublin. In our public meetings ſhe ſometimes ſpoke prophetically to the following purpoſe: that a terrible ſtorm and diſtreſſing time was approaching, even as at the door of this nation, by reaſon of a ſin, if not diverted by ſpeedy repentance. Alſo, that notwithſtanding the ſeeming degeneracy of the youth among friends, God's viſitation was extended to them, and ſhould be effectual to the raiſing up divers of them for his ſervice.

This year alſo was printed by order of the National meeting, a Reply, wrote by Samuel Fuller, late ſchoolmaſter in Dublin, to certain ſubtle queries, publiſhed by Joſeph Boyce, an eminent Preſbyterian teacher, tending greatly to the diſhonour of friends, and miſrepreſenting their doctrines, which are very well anſwered by the ſaid S. Fuller, author alſo of a ſhort catechiſm compoſed for the inſtruction of youth, afterward printed in the year 1723.

This was an afflicting year to the province of Ulſter, (1729) occaſioned by ſcarcity of bread, and ſickneſs prevailing among them; and though our friends, by the love ſubſiſting among brethren, were preſerved from being burdenſome to others, yet the diſtribution to the indigent, both among friends and others, being heavy on ſome in this calamitous time (ſeveral friends having largely contributed to the ſupport not only of their own brethren, but of perſons of all other ſocieties) a free and voluntary ſubſcription was made by friends of Leinſter and Munſter provinces, of one hundred and ſixty-ſeven pounds for the relief of friends of Ulſter.

This year, being about the ſeventieth of his age, died Joſeph Pike, the ſon of Richard Pike, of Newbury in Berkſhire, who came over to Ireland a corporal in a troop of horſe in Cromwell's army, and continued therein until about the year 1655, when, by means of the miniſtry of Edward Burrough, he was convinced of the truth, and for conſcience-ſake could not uſe arms for the deſtruction of mankind, and was therefore turned out of the army, and died a priſoner for the teſtimony of a good conſcience. His ſon Joſeph Pike, was born at Kilcreagh, in the county of Cork; upon whoſe tender mind the divine ſpirit began to work very early, even before he was ſeven years old, drawing it off from childiſh playfulneſs and vanities, from which time, until he arrived at the age of eighteen years, he underwent great conflicts of ſoul; and at length grew up to be an uſeful member of the church, though never exempt from temptations and trials of faith. He was a man of ſelf-denial, being often led to take up the croſs and deny himſelf of things otherwiſe very lawful, as to eating, drinking, and putting on of apparel, when he found his mind too ſtrongly inclined to them.

Although he had not a call to the miniſtry, he was eminently gifted for Chriſtian diſcipline, and zealous in the proſecution thereof, as by the following inſtances may appear: he and Samuel Randal almoſt conſtantly travelled from Cork to attend the Half-year's meeting in Dublin, both ſummer and winter, for about twenty years, heartily joining with faithful brethren in the ſervice of truth, according to ability. He alſo went frequently to the Yearly-Meeting at London, on the ſame account, where his ſervice was acceptable. He was particularly, in the year 1692, zealouſly engaged to join with the brethren, in the concern then upon them, for a reformation among friends of divers diſorders in converſation, ſuperfluities in apparel, furniture and other things, that were then creeping in faſt upon them: and as he, in conjuction with his brethren, was careful previouſly to their entering on this weighty ſervice of admoniſhing others, to cleanſe their own houſes of thoſe ſuperfluities which were to be condemned; the work accordingly proſpered in their hands, and there was a pretty thorough reformation as to outward things in the families of friends, both in the province of Munſter, and throughout this kingdom; although our friend lived to have cauſe to complain (in the year 1728, when he wrote a journal of his own life) that as of old, when Moſes, Joſhua, and the elders were dead, there aroſe another generation that knew not the Lord, nor the works that he had done in Iſrael, the like diſaſter had befallen our ſociety now, with reſpect to the ſpiritual ſtate of a ſurviving generation, compared with that of their forefathers.

He wrote a treatiſe concerning baptiſm and the Lord's ſupper, and a diſcourſe concerning church-government (yet in manuſcript) wherein he ſhews the neceſſity of it, and its conformity as practiſed among the people called Quakers, to that in the primitive times.

I ſhall conclude with the ſhort ſketch of the character of this elder, given by the brethren at Cork, where he chiefly reſided, viz. 'He was a man of a clear underſtanding, ſound judgment, tender over the weak where tenderneſs appeared, but ſharp againſt the high-minded and ſtubborn; in converſation ſolid and weighty, without affectation, yet cheerful and agreeable without levity; a worthy elder, ruling his own houſe well, and of great ſervice in the church.'

A provincial viſit was made to the ſeveral particular meetings in the province of Ulſter (1730), which was well received, and it was believed proved helpful to many.

This year (1731) died Thomas Braddock, at Ballitore, in the county of Kildare. He was educated a member of the church of England, but grew uneaſy under their forms without the power of religion; ſerious conſiderations concerning a future ſtate, and his unpreparedneſs for it, ſometimes ſeizing his mind, and affecting him with great trouble and earneſt ſupplication to Almighty God, that he would be pleaſed to ſhew him his people, that he might join with them, being perſuaded that God had a people that were nearer to him than thoſe he was then in communion with. He has left behind him in manuſcript, an account of the exerciſe of his ſoul on this account, of which the following is an extract in his own words.

'As for the Quakers, I thought they could not be God's people, becauſe they denied the two great ſeals of the covenant of grace as they were called, ſo that I thought they being wrong in that, muſt be wrong in every thing elſe, though I had a liking to their converſation, and was inclined to go to one of their meetings, and ſee what ſort of worſhip they had: I knew they had no man appointed to preach to them, and what they meant by their ſilent meetings, I could not tell. I went however to one of them, and ſat with them about half-an-hour, when the great power of the Lord came upon me, and made me fetch many deep ſighs and groans, with tears; and a trembling came over my whole body, ſo that I was forced to take hold of the ſeat on which I ſat, to keep myſelf from falling. I was very much aſhamed to appear in that condition before ſo many people, but I could not avoid it; and then the voice of the Lord came unto me, and ſaid, 'Theſe are the people thou muſt join with, and if thou be faithful, I will be with thee to the end of thy days, and thou ſhalt have life everlaſting in the world to come.' I gave up freely to the heavenly viſion, and was willing to obey the Lord's counſel; and the ſhaking and trouble abated, and I ſat pretty quiet until the meeting was ended. My wife meeting me, aſked, whether I had been at a Quaker's meeting; I anſwered, 'Yes.' She further queried whether they had any preacher; I anſwered, 'Yes; and the beſt of preachers.' She did not know that I had heard the holy Jeſus, but thought that I had been hearing a man. Then it was that the great work of the Lord began in me, and the light ſhined in my heart, and gave me to ſee the poor, loſt, bewildered, dark, and deplorable condition, that I had hitherto lived in, as without God in the world: then were many ſins brought to my remembrance with great trouble; and many ſorrowful days and nights I paſſed, with earneſt cries to the Lord for pardon, yet ſupported at times by the loving viſitations of the Almighty, to let me ſee that he had not forſaken me.

Thus was this our friend made a Quaker by an inviſible power, and by the ſame power was the work of reformation and ſanctification begun in his ſoul, and now his prejudices againſt this people, as denying the two great ſeals of the covenant of grace ſo called, Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper, vaniſhed; for he calls this bleſſed exerciſe of his ſoul, his Chriſtian Baptiſm: but now many enemies attacked him, both from within and without, with rage and paſſion ſometimes, which he overcame with the meekneſs of a lamb.

In proceſs of time he became concerned, not only for the ſalvation of his ſoul, but was ſometimes ſeized with great trouble, trembling, and tears, on the account of the unfaithfulneſs of others, particularly in meetings for worſhip, where words did ariſe very lively in his mind, tending to the edification of thoſe preſent, which it ſeemed to be his duty to deliver; but he, through weakneſs, refuſing to yield obedience to the heavenly call, the divine preſence was for a time withdrawn from him, and he left barren, and at times given up to lightneſs; yet it pleaſed God in great mercy again to viſit his ſoul, and let him ſee his error; and indeed this our friend was a moſt ſignal inſtance of the tender mercy and long forbearance of a gracious God; for in the year 1725, even in his old age, and about eighteen years after his diſobedience before-mentioned, a freſh concern came upon him to utter ſome words in a publick meeting, in teſtimony to the Lord's goodneſs to his ſoul, and tending to the awakening the carnal profeſſors among friends. This ſecond trial, however, was to him almoſt as hard as death, being a man of great humility and modeſty, conſcious of his own weakneſs, and toſſed with many doubts, fears, and carnal reaſonings, and greatly diſtreſſed both in body and mind. At length, however, he gave up to the Lord's requirings, and delivered what he gave him to ſay, to the great peace and comfort of his own mind; and after that, until his death, was at times concerned in publick exhortation in a few words, but weighty, ſeaſonable, and edifying; and his converſation was ſuitable to his doctrine.

About the latter end of this year (1735) our ſolemn affirmation (without a certificate, as required by the former act) was renewed for eleven years, and to the end of the then next ſeſſion of parliament.

Beſides other friends of the miniſtry, Benjamin Holme this year viſited Ireland the ſixth time: he ſpent three months in the province of Ulſter, having meetings there among ſtrangers as well as friends, and after the Third month National meeting, went into the province of Connaught, and returned by way of Sligo, Ballyſhannon, and Letterkenny, to Londonderry, having many quiet and peaceable meetings among other people, being often drawn forth to viſit them, and open our principles to them, and declare the great love and mercy of God, in ſending his Son to taſte death for every man. From Ulſter he went, by way of Dublin, to Limerick, accompanied by ſome friends, and thence to the county of Kerry, particularly to Linxnaw, the earl of Kerry's ſeat, to Ardfert, Tralee, Coole, and Dingle, and had ſeveral meetings among the people in that county, who, though many of them were great ſtrangers to friends and their principles, ſhewed themſelves friendly and reſpectful, eſpecially the Proteſtant gentlemen of the country, who ſometimes protected them from the rabble; in general they were well received, and Benjamin was heard with great ſatisfaction, in his plain, clear, and demonſtrative way of preaching the doctrines of the goſpel and terms of ſalvation. At Mill-ſtreet, where the congregation was for the moſt part of the worſe ſort, when they heard a hint of purgatory, ſeveral of them roſe and went off, crying, 'Glauſh,' i. e. Come away. From thence he returned to Cork and to Waterford, where he viſited the biſhop, as he had done before the biſhops of Londonderry, and Down, and Conner, &c. who received him very kindly, and to ſome of the biſhops he wrote letters, and ſometimes preſented them with books, as the Treatiſe on Oaths, another on Tithes, &c. He departed from hence, and returned to Great-Britain, in the Twelfth month, 1736, leaving to friends of this nation a farewel epiſtle.

It was obſervable this year (1736) as well as for ſome years paſt, in time of outward peace and tranquility, that many of other ſocieties frequently reſorted to friends meetings, whoſe underſtandings were opened, and their prejudices removed with regard to friends principles, ſo that it may be affirmed that the teſtimony of truth prevailed, notwithſtanding the degeneracy and unfaithfulneſs of too many under this profeſſion, who were as ſtumbling blocks in the way of ſome.

This year, being about the ſeventy-fourth of his age, died William Gray, at Ballyhagen in the province of Ulſter, a worthy elder, whoſe ſervices in the church were conſiderable for above thirty years; although not called to the miniſtry till towards the latter part of his life. He was given to hoſpitality, of a grave and ſolid deportment, of a good underſtanding and a ready utterance, yet modeſt, and diffident of his own abilities, helpful in compoſing of differences, and often ſpeaking pertinently to matters in meetings of buſineſs, being well acquainted with the rules of our diſcipline. He grew in his concern for the proſperity of the church, as he advanced towards the period of his days, being, ſix years before his deceaſe, concerned at times in publick and tender exhortation, and in meetings for buſineſs, ſeldom omitting to advertiſe friends to faithfulneſs, care, and circumſpection, in an orderly converſation, and diligence in the worſhip of Almighty God.

Among other friends who viſited the nation this year (1737) in the work of the miniſtry, was David Hall, from Yorkſhire, who at his departure, wrote an epiſtle to friends, which was ordered to be printed for a general ſervice, containing divers weighty advices ſuitable to the different ſtations of the ſeveral members of the church, and cautions againſt ſome evils and diſorders too much prevailing in this time of our outward eaſe and liberty, particularly negligence of attending meetings for divine worſhip, living above our abilities, deviating from the plain language, marriages with perſons of other perſuaſions, &c.

This year alſo afforded an opportunity of reviewing and digeſting thoſe ſeveral matters, which have been the uſual ſubjects of the correſpondence between Monthly and Quarterly meetings, which, being reduced to the form of queries, were offered to the conſideration of a Quarterly meeting held at Mountmelick, and from thence to the National meeting, which in the year 1740, recommended them as proper to be anſwered from the ſeveral Monthly to the Quarterly meetings through this nation, a copy of which follows, &c.

Query 1. Are meetings for worſhip, both on week-days and Firſt-days, duly attended, as alſo thoſe for diſcipline; and are ſuch as are negligent herein admoniſhed; and is care taken that no unfit perſons ſit in the latter?

2. Do the larger meetings aſſiſt and ſtrengthen little meetings that are near them?

3. Do friends keep to plainneſs of habit, ſpeech and furniture?

4. Do they avoid ſuperfluous proviſions at marriages and burials?

5. —— Unneceſſary frequenting of ale-houſes and taverns?

6. Do they ſo manage their affairs in trade and dealing, as to keep their words and promiſes in the payment of their debts and otherwiſe?

7. Do friends avoid incumbrances, hindering their growth in the truth, and the ſervice of it?

8. Are friends in unity one with another; do they avoid back-biting, and railing or ſpreading evil reports of any; is care taken to put a ſpeedy end to all differences?

9. How are the ſeveral advices of our National meeting, and that of London, put in practice, relating to friends godly care of the good education of their children in the way of truth, ſobriety, plainneſs of habit and ſpeech, and all godly converſation; and do friends inſtruct their children in the principles of truth?

10. Are friends children put to ſchool among friends, and are the ſchools of friends duly inſpected?

11. Are the poor taken due care of, and do their children partake of neceſſary learning to fit them for trades? Are apprentices and ſervants placed out among friends?

12. Doth each Monthly meeting take care, that a viſit to the family of friends be performed by well-qualified friends, once a year, or oftener, as occaſion requires?

13. Do friends acquaint particular or Monthly meetings, and take their advice, before they remove from their place of ſettlement?

14. Do friends maintain their teſtimony againſt paying or receiving tithes, church-rates, and all kinds of prieſt's dues ſo called; as alſo againſt bearing of arms?

15. Do any propoſe marriage without firſt obtaining the conſent of parents or guardians?

16. Is care taken to deal with and cenſure tranſgreſſors in due time?

17. Have all friends ſettled their outward affairs, by wills or deeds of truſt, according to their preſent minds and circumſtances? Is care taken that executors, guardians, and truſtees, do faithfully diſcharge the truſt repoſed in them?

18. Are all meeting-houſes and burial-places firmly made over and ſecured, and kept in good repair?

19. Are births and burials duly recorded?

20. Doth each monthly meeting take care that none under our profeſſion defraud the king of his duties, cuſtom or exciſe, or any way encourage the running of goods, by buying or vending ſuch goods; and do they ſeverely reprehend and teſtify againſt all ſuch offenders, and their unwarrantable, clandeſtine, and unlawful actions?

21. Is care taken by each monthly meeting, that no miſuſe is made of the affirmation?

A general viſit was performed this year to all or moſt of the men and womens meetings in the province of Leinſter.

In the year 1739, and eightieth of his age, died John Dobbs, at Youghal, who although not called to the miniſtry, was ſuch a ſhining example of ſincerity and ſelf-denial, that the following paſſages of his life ſeemed worthy to be recorded.

He was the eldeſt ſon of Richard Dobbs of Caſtle-Dobbs, who was a counſellor at law, and juſtice of the peace of the county of Antrim, from whom he was entitled to a conſiderable eſtate, of which he ſuffered himſelf to be deprived purely for religion's ſake. He gave divers proofs of an early diſpoſition to piety, ſome of which it may be worth while to ſpecify. When he was about eleven years old, a certain perſon aſked his father, the ſaid Richard Dobbs, what he intended to bring his ſon up to; his anſwer was, to the clergy, and he did not know but Johnny might come to be a biſhop. The child hearing this, ſays within himſelf, 'It is a great concern to take the care of other mens ſouls upon me; it is well if I can look well after my own.' At ſchool he made ſome conſiderable proficiency in the Latin and Greek tongues, and afterwards applied himſelf to the ſtudy of phyſick; but during this time a holy thirſt poſſeſſed his ſoul after a knowledge of greater importance, whereby he might obtain peace with God. He was grieved with the looſe converſation of his companions at ſchool, and upon ſome converſe with the gentry of the country, their tipling diſpoſition became burdenſome to him, and he deſerted them. He went afterwards to the univerſity of Oxford, from a deſire to enquire further into the principles of true religion; but, in his road to it, he met with a ſomewhat diſcouraging obſervation from a certain perſon he caſually fell in company with at York, who remarked that there were many gentlemen in the country, who were afraid of ſending their ſons thither leſt they ſhould be debauched. He found there was too much ground for this obſervation, for when he came to Oxford, he was much grieved at the profaneneſs of the ſtudents there, and at firſt put himſelf in the way of converſing with them, with a deſign to uſe his beſt endeavours to reform them, but found this to be labour loſt; and, to be brief, was not eaſy to ſtay long at the college, but obtained liberty of his father to return home.

He had an eſteem for the people called Quakers, from his obſervation of the innocency of their lives and converſations among men; and his mother, Dorothy Dobbs, having joined herſelf in community with this people, he had an opportunity of peruſing ſeveral books written by ſome of them; but before the nineteenth year of his age, he had proceeded no farther than to entertain good wiſhes for them, his father having threatened to turn any of his children out of doors that ſhould go to their meetings; notwithſtanding which, in a ſhort time after, being deſirous of hearing their teſtimony himſelf, and an Engliſh friend, Thomas Dockra, viſiting Carrickfergus, and having a meeting there, John went thither, and before that meeting was over, was ſo effectually convinced of the truth of their teſtimony, that he, from this time, continued ſtedfaſt in community with that people. This was very diſagreeable to his father, who endeavoured, firſt by perſuaſion, to bring him off from that way of thinking; but this proving ineffectual, he had recourſe to blows, and other great ſeverities, which he exerciſed on this tender youth, which he bore with great patience and conſtancy; particularly in keeping him priſoner in his houſe about half a year, in 1683 and 84, during which confinement, at a certain time meeting him with his hat on, he fell furiouſly on him, and beat him grievouſly on the head with a cane, to that degree, that he fell into a fever on it, nor did he ever entirely recover the injury thereby received. Beſides this, he deprived him of his right in his eſtate, which in the year 1681, was three hundred and ſixty pounds per annum, leaving him by will only ten pounds per ann. during life, to keep him, as he ſaid, from ſtarving, or relying on thoſe ſeducing people. But all this could not taint his integrity. His mother dying whilſt he was young, who had been his conſtant friend and ſupport under his hardſhips, his father would not ſee him, nor ſuffer him to come into his preſence; and ſo having none to ſupport him, and there being no likelihood of a reconciliation, he was neceſſitated to leave his father's houſe, and went to England and learned chymiſtry with Charles Marſhal, and making further progreſs in the ſtudy of Phyſick, he returned to Ireland, and practiſed it here with reputation, and lived and died in ſtrict unity with friends, being an innocent and religious man, one that avoided popularity, was more in reality than appearance, and cared not how little noiſe the world made about him, ſo that he enjoyed peace with God.

In the year 1739, being the ſixty-fifth of her age, and about the forty-ſecond of her miniſtry, died at Waterford, Elizabeth Jacob, the daughter of Thomas and Agnes Head, who was born at Ardee; and afterwards lived in Dublin, where ſhe underwent many and deep conflicts of ſoul, before ſhe became reſigned to the Lord's requirings, in bearing a publick teſtimony, which ſhe did firſt in that city about the year 1697, and in the year 1699, was joined in marriage to Richard Jacob of Limerick, to which place ſhe removed, and was of great ſervice there, being, through her obedience to the heavenly call, made a choſen veſſel for the uſe of her Lord and Maſter, fitted by his power and ſpirit for his work and ſervice; in the diſcharge of which ſhe greatly deſired to be found faithful and clear of the blood of all men, being fervently engaged for truth's proſperity, and the promotion of godlineſs in the earth, on the account whereof ſhe was freely given up to ſpend and be ſpent in many laborious journies, both in this and other nations, not only in her youth, but even in her advanced years, and when attended with bodily infirmities; particularly in the year 1701, ſhe travelled in the North of Ireland, thence paſſed over into Scotland, and had good ſervice there and in the North of England. Again, in the year 1705, ſhe viſited friends in divers counties in England, and was twice at London, where ſhe had large and ſatisfactory meetings. And in the years 1711 and 1712, ſhe viſited friends in Scotland, and in many parts of England and Wales, for above ten months, and by the Lord's power was made an inſtrument of good unto many; and in the year 1729, ſhe viſited friends in divers counties of England, and paſſed over to Holland in truth's ſervice.

She had a clear and diſtinct utterance in her miniſtry, which was attended with great reverence and tenderneſs, to the reaching the hearts of the hearers, and continued lively in the exerciſe of her gift to the laſt. She was fervent and weighty in prayer, and a good example in converſation, being preſerved by the truth in circumſpection and fear, yet of a ſweet and chearful ſpirit.

In the year 1712 ſhe wrote, from Worceſter, an epiſtle of love to friends in England, which was printed, and contains a farewel exhortation to friends families, wherein ſhe addreſſes herſelf firſt to the elders, ſetting forth that, ‘ Whereas there is a great declenſion from the primitive plainneſs, ſimplicity, and ſincerity, into which truth led our faithful predeceſſors, this is owing to the prevalence of the ſpirit of the world, pride, covetouſneſs, ſelf-intereſt, and fleſhly eaſe; and, in order to a reformation, earneſtly exhorts ſuch who are fathers and mothers, and as pillars in the church, carefully to obſerve the operation of the Lord’s holy Spirit, and to be often inwardly attending on the wonderful counſellor, whereby they will be enabled to ſet up an holy diſcipline in their own families; and that this godly care in families is the only expedient for a right reformation in the churches: that it is not enough for the elders, fathers, and mothers, maſters and miſtreſſes, who have in any meaſure taſted of the good word of life, and of the powers of the world to come, careleſsly to retain a knowledge of what they have experienced in times paſt; that God hath not lighted their candles to be put out again or to be hid under a buſhel, but that they ought daily to wait upon and ſupplicate the Lord for the renewing of his love and life, that their lamps may be kept trimmed and their lights ſhining, and they be a ſweet ſavour of life unto life, their converſation anſwering the witneſs of God in the hearts of their children, ſervants, and neighbours, ſtirring up the negligent to a lively commemoration of the Lord’s mercies, and exerciſing their Chriſtian authority, in the management and ſettlement of their own families in that decent order we, through the mercy and wiſdom of God, have been eſtabliſhed in; thus will parents be good examples to their children, and maſters to their ſervants; and that indeed the heads of families are, or ought to be, the Lord’s miniſters, ruling them in the power of love, and thereby ordering them rightly in life and manners;’ and concludes with this warning to the unfaithful, 'that if the love of God to them, through his ſpirit and through his ſervants, will not prevail, the Lord will be clear when he judgeth, as he was in the deſtruction of the old world, and of the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah.' She next tenderly addreſſes herſelf to the children, cautioning them againſt divers evils, dangers, and temptations, peculiar to their age, as pride or affectation of new faſhions in apparel, whilſt the adorning of the better and immortal part is neglected; as alſo againſt the needleſs friendſhip and familiarity with thoſe of a different perſuaſion in matters of faith, whereby many have been betrayed into unequal marriages, to the wounding their own ſouls, great trouble of their tender parents, and the deſtruction and ruin of many families.

A provincial viſit was this year (1740) performed in Ulſter. And here it may be obſerved, upon a review of the foregoing records, that in the province of Ulſter, general viſits to that province, and for the moſt part to the ſeveral monthly meetings therein, were performed in the years 1699, 1702, 1705, 1706, 1707, 1720 or 21, 1727, 1730, and 1740. In the province of Leinſter the like general viſits were performed in the years 1699, 1707, 1711, 1714, 1720 or 21, 1725, and 1737. In the province of Munſter the like general viſits were performed in the years 1699, 1708, and 1726.

This year (1741) and in the eightieth of his age, died John Aſhton, of Kilconinmore, in the county of Tiperary, though a native of Cheſhire, who, about the fortieth year of his age, was convinced by the lively miniſtry of Thomas Wilſon; and ſoon after his convincement was caſt into priſon, on account of his faithful teſtimony againſt the payment of tithes, and continued a priſoner about ſix months.

His zeal for the worſhip of Almighty God was remarkable; for whilſt he was a member of the meeting at Birr, he generally walked thither twice a week, though it was five miles of dirty road, and he was often obliged to wade through a river in his way, and ſometimes in winter time to break the ice, wherewith his legs and feet have been wounded.

His zeal alſo for the propagation of truth, and love to the ſouls of his neighbours, was manifeſt in the following inſtance; that when friends travelling in the ſervice of the goſpel, came to his houſe, he took great pains to invite the people near him to come and partake of the benefit of their labours; for which purpoſe it was his frequent practice to ride ſeveral miles round, and this in the night as well as day, and even in the depth and ſeverity of the winter ſeaſon; and though ſome returned ſcoffs and abuſive ſpeeches, yet many came and were well ſatisfied, and ſome convinced, and among the reſt ſome of his own ſervants; and a meeting was ſettled at his houſe in the year 1710, which ſtill continues.

He was a man of hoſpitality, and of a tender ſpirit, ſympathizing with the poor and afflicted.

About the ſixty-ſecond year of his age, he received a gift in the miniſtry, in the exerciſe of which he was particularly zealous in teſtifying againſt the follies and vanities incident to youth, with reſpect to a conformity to the never-ſettled faſhions of the times. In the year 1733, he with another friend, viſited friends in ſundry counties in England, as alſo in North-Britain.

This year died at Dublin, Joſeph Gill, born at Skelton in Cumberland, in the year 1674, the ſon of William Gill, from whom he received a religious education, which with the concurrence of the divine bleſſing, and his own endeavours, was greatly improved to his ſpiritual advantage.

He manifeſted an early zeal for the worſhip of Almighty God, in preference to the purſuit of worldly gain; and when his outward buſineſs increaſed and proſpered, was ſeized with a holy fear, leſt the multitude thereof ſhould obſtruct the ſpiritual exerciſe and engagement of his mind, for the acquiſition of heavenly riches.

In the early part of his life, he frequently accompanied miniſtring friends in their travels through ſeveral parts of this nation, and met with great conſolation and encouragement in ſo doing.

In the year 1709, he was led to ſettle his outward affairs and leſſen his buſineſs, in purſuance of a ſecret impreſſion then made on his mind, that he ought to be at leiſure to follow the Lord as he ſhould be pleaſed to lead him, being reſigned to what he believed to be the divine will concerning him; though at this time he had no diſtinct perception of his being called to the miniſtry. However, in the year 1711, being the thirty-ſeventh of his age, his mouth was firſt opened in the aſſemblies of the people called Quakers, but with great fear and concern of mind, by reaſon of divers ſuggeſtions of the enemy, which in proceſs of time were overcome, and he proving faithful to his ſenſe of the divine requirings, grew in his gift, and became a diligent and zealous labourer therein, to the edification of the churches both at home and abroad.

In the year 1711 he viſited the meetings of friends in Ulſter province, in company with Richard Sealy, when, at Coothill, James Sympſon (who was bred a ſcholar and intended for a Preſbyterian teacher) was convinced, who became a ſerviceable man, and ſuffered impriſonment in Cavan gaol for his teſtimony againſt tithes.

In the year 1713, he had drawings in his mind to viſit friends in Ulſter province again, but wanting a companion, and not deeming himſelf ſtrong enough, waited until the arrival of Luke Cock, a miniſtring friend from England, and accompanied him in his travels to that province. After this he very frequently performed viſits in the work of the miniſtry, to the meetings in Leinſter, Munſter, and Ulſter, and ſometimes in Connaught, where he had alſo meetings among ſtrangers; and beſides theſe viſits at home, he, at different times, viſited friends in divers parts of England and Scotland, and in the year 1714, in the Iſle of Man; and in the year 1734, he took a voyage to America on the ſame account, where he travelled five thouſand five hundred and ſeventy-two miles, and was at three hundred and eighty-two meetings.

He was diligent in attending the meetings of diſcipline, as well as worſhip, and not only thoſe at home, but particularly the Yearly meeting at London; and from the year 1712 to 1741 incluſive, was thirteen times at the ſaid Yearly meeting.

He was a man of exemplary life and converſation, and given to hoſpitality. As he drew near the concluſion of his days, he had this comfortable reflexion to make, that he had preferred the ſervice of truth before the buſineſs of this world; and declared, that although he had ſeveral opportunities of enlarging his temporal poſſeſſions, he durſt not embrace them, leſt he ſhould thereby be hindered from the diſcharge of his ſpiritual duties. He alſo ſignified his ſenſe, that although the church was now in her ſable weeds, and mourning ſeemed her preſent portion, yet that he believed the Lord would cauſe Sion to ſhine and become the beauty of nations. He died in a devout frame of mind, in this the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age, and thirtieth of his miniſtry.

This year died at Dublin that honourable elder and miniſter George Rooke, the ſon of Thomas Rooke, born in the pariſh of Boulton in Cumberland. He had been educated in the church of England, but about the twentieth year of his age, being convinced of the truth of the doctrine preached by John Greaves, a miniſter among the people called Quakers, he joined himſelf in ſociety with them, and proving faithful, according to his ſenſe of his duty, about the twenty-fifth year of his age, his mouth was opened to declare unto others his own experience of the Lord's goodneſs, and he became early engaged in travelling abroad in the work of the miniſtry, zealouſly and chearfully devoting his ſtrength and youthful days to the propagation of the goſpel, and promotion of truth and righteouſneſs in the earth; particularly in the year 1679, he travelled on foot to Scotland on this account, accompanied by Peter Fearon. In the year 1681, he viſited friends in all their meetings in Scotland a ſecond time, and the ſame year came to Ireland and viſited moſt of the meetings of friends through the nation, as he did alſo in the year 1684, and ſome time after his return, viſiting friends in Weſtmoreland, and biſhoprick, he had a meeting at Stockton, where the mayor of the town ſent one of his officers to bring George before him, and when he came, tendered him the oath of allegiance and ſupremacy: but becauſe George, for conſcience ſake, refuſed to ſwear, the mayor would have had him enter into bonds for his good behaviour, and to appear at the next quarter-ſeſſions: George told him, he was bound to good behaviour already. 'Have you been with ſome juſtice of the peace that has bound you already?' ſaid the mayor. 'No,' ſaid George, 'but I am bound by my principle to behave myſelf towards the king and all his ſubjects as becomes a Chriſtian.' 'But for all that,' ſaid the mayor, 'you muſt enter into bonds.' 'I cannot,' ſaid George, 'for I believe thou wilt call that a breach of good behaviour, which I think is good behaviour.' 'What is that,' ſaid the mayor, 'I ſuppoſe,' ſaid George, 'thou wilt call it a breach of good behaviour, if I go to one of our meetings before next quarter-ſeſſions?' 'Sure enough, I ſhall,' ſaid the mayor. George ſaid, he would not bring any of his friends into that ſnare to leave them bound for him. 'It is but about a month,' ſaid the mayor, 'to the ſeſſions, and cannot you forbear going to meeting ſo long?' 'No,' ſaid George, 'if the Lord ſpare me health, I can no more forbear going to meetings, than Daniel could forbear praying to his God, although the decree was but for thirty days.' So the mayor committed him to Durham gaol, where he was kept priſoner till the ſeſſions, when he was again committed and kept priſoner about a month longer, becauſe for conſcience-ſake he could not ſwear.

In the year 1685, he viſited friends in Ireland a third time, and again in 1686, when he married and ſettled in Limerick; yet ſtill continued laborious, and frequently travelled abroad in the exerciſe of his gift, for the edification of the churches; and indeed his miniſtry appears to have been clear and convincing even among ſtrangers, of which an inſtance occurred in his travels through Wales, where, at a meeting he had at Haverford-weſt, one of his hearers, who had a right of the preſentation of a pariſh called St. David's Head, was ſo far affected by his preaching as to make him an offer of it; but he was not one of thoſe miniſters who ſeek for reward or ſupport from men.

He continued his habitation in Limerick in the years 1689 and 90, in the troubleſome time of the wars between king William and king James, and during the firſt ſiege; but before the ſecond ſiege, while king James's army had poſſeſſion of the city, he removed himſelf and family to Cumberland; but notwithſtanding theſe troubles, he ſtill continued laborious and fervent in ſpirit, in viſiting the meetings of friends, and in the year 1692, again viſited the brethren in Scotland.

In the year 1693 he returned to Ireland, ſettled, and continued his reſidence in Dublin the remaining part of his life, during which time, whilſt of ability, he frequently viſited friends in the three provinces, and ſometimes had meetings in places where no meetings of friends were ſettled: he alſo ſometimes viſited friends in England and Wales, and was frequently at the Yearly meeting of London. He was a very diligent attender of meetings for worſhip, and thoſe for diſcipline, and was ſcarce ever abſent (unleſs when engaged in travelling elſewhere in truth's ſervice) from the Province and Quarterly meetings, until diſabled by infirmity of body.

He was a man of good underſtanding, though but little ſchool-learning; of a ſweet temper; in converſation pleaſant and affable; an affectionate huſband and father; a tender and ſympathizing viſitor of the ſick: he was a diligent and faithful miniſter, and his labours were often crowned with ſucceſs, to the convincement of ſeveral, who proved eminent and ſerviceable men in the church, and the edification and eſtabliſhment of others. In the exerciſe of his gift he was clear, ſolid, and lively, even unto extreme old age; in prayer, living, reverent, weighty, and conciſe. In his deportment meek and humble, not elevated by his gifts and good ſervices; far from being deſirous of exerciſing lordſhip over God's heritage, frequently declaring, that he did not judge miniſters to be of an order above other men, and that he and all others in the miniſtry, ought willingly to refer their doctrines to the divine witneſs in the conſciences of their hearers. He was a diligent reader of the holy Scriptures, and in his preaching a faithful quoter of them. He retained his integrity, as well as underſtanding and memory to his end, and departed this life in the ninety-firſt year of his age, and about the ſixty-ſeventh of his miniſtry, and appears to be the moſt ancient miniſter mentioned in theſe records.

This year, there being apprehenſions of an intended invaſion of England from France, friends drew up an addreſs to the king, ſignifying their fidelity and good affection to his perſon and government, which was as follows:

‘ To George the Second, king of Great-Britain and the dominions thereunto belonging.

‘ The humble Addreſs of his Proteſtant Subjects, the People called Quakers, in the kingdom of Ireland.

‘ We thy dutiful and peaceable ſubjects, with hearts truly ſenſible of the many bleſſings and privileges we enjoy under thy paternal care and protection, beg leave at this critical conjuncture, when thy dominions are threatened with an invaſion in favour of a popiſh pretender, to expreſs our ſincere and hearty abhorrence of all plots and conſpiracies againſt thy perſon and government.

‘ Duty, gratitude, and intereſt, unite to engage us in a firm attachment to thy royal perſon, and the Proteſtant ſucceſſion in the illuſtrious houſe; and we are determined, by divine aſſiſtance, to continue unſhaken in theſe ſentiments, and conformable to our known principles to do the utmoſt in our power for promoting the peace and welfare of this nation.

‘ The kind indulgence granted us by the legiſlature in our religious ſcruples, the free acceſs we have had to the ſeveral chief governors of this kingdom ſince thy acceſſion to the throne, and the readineſs ſhewn for our relief, whereof we retain the moſt grateful and lively ſenſe, lay us under additional obligations of duty and fidelity.

‘ May the ſame divine Providence that defeated the attempts of the enemies of our conſtitution, in the rebellion againſt thy royal father, and which hath lately protected thee in imminent danger, preſerve thee and thy royal family from the wicked deſigns of all your enemies, whether foreign or domeſtic. May the Almighty guide thy counſels by his wiſdom, and render them effectual for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace and tranquillity, and grant thee a long and proſperous reign over us. May the Britiſh throne be always filled with one of thy royal offspring, to tranſmit the bleſſings we enjoy to future ages.

‘ Signed in Dublin, in behalf of the ſaid people, the 31ſt of the Firſt month, called March, 1744, by

John Barclay
Peter Judd
Henry Pemberton
Daniel Bewley
Edward Fawcett
Joſeph Fade
James Johnſton
John Rutty
Samuel Judd
Benjamin Dawſon
Paul Johnſon
Robert Clibborn
Francis Ruſſell
Thomas Strettell, junr.
Robert Unthank
Jacob Ford
Robert Jaffray
Joſeph Barcroft
John Goulbee
Robert Gill
Jonathan Strettell
John Dawſon
Ambroſe Barcroft
Samuel Sharpley
William Greenhow
Thomas Chandley
John Barclay, junr.
Joſhua Clibborn
Edward Stephens
Lancelot Whitehead
John Powel
Aaron Atkinſon
Iſaac Aſhton
Thomas Handy
Iſſachar Willcocks
Joſeph Willcocks
Gherret Haſſen
Henry Aſhe
John Willcocks
Samuel Ruſſell
Thomas Goulbee
Samuel Morton
Samuel Summers
John Beetham
Jonathan Fletcher
Joſeph Green
Abraham Robinſon
William Willan
Iſaac Jackſon
Richard Pearce
John Pim
Jacob Goff
William Richardſon
James Forbes

It is worthy of obſervation, that whilſt the neighbouring kingdom of Great-Britain was diſturbed both with a foreign war, and a rebellion at home, this nation, under the prudent adminiſtration of our chief governor, enjoyed a profound peace; and at the ſame time we were favoured with the viſits of divers worthy brethren and ſiſters in the miniſtry, ſome from Great-Britain and others from America, who croſſed the ſeas in this ſervice at the hazard of their lives.

Alſo, whereas the act of parliament for granting friends an affirmation in all, except criminal caſes, and for qualifying for places of profit and truſt, and ſerving on juries, which was paſſed in the year 1736, was only temporary, and to expire at the end of the enſuing ſeſſion of parliament, the preſent time was thought convenient to make early application for a renewal of the ſaid act without limitation of time, in the ſame manner as friends elſewhere enjoy it. Wherefore the friends who attended the laſt Yearly meeting at London, did there wait on the earl of Cheſterfield, the lord lieutenant, requeſting his advice and friendſhip in our intended ſolicitation, which he with great chearfulneſs granted them, and on his arrival here, encouraged friends to petition the Houſe of Commons this ſeſſion, for ſuch an act as aforeſaid, which they accordingly did with good ſucceſs, for it paſſed both houſes, *nemine contradicente*, and obtained the royal aſſent.*

Beſides other miniſtring friends at home, who viſited friends this year (1744) Gherret Haſſen performed a viſit to them in each province, not only in their publick meetings, but in their families, having in this ſervice viſited by eſtimation, three thouſand families and upwards, excluſive of thoſe in Dublin, where he had reſided ſome years.

This year died Mungo Bewley, ſon of Thomas and Margaret Bewley, of Woodhall in Cumberland, from whence he came over to this kingdom, and ſettled at Edenderry, in the King's County. He was favoured in his youth with a tender viſitation of the love of God, and manifeſted early a fervent zeal for divine worſhip in the following inſtance: among his papers was found one which he wrote during the time of his apprenticeſhip, requeſting of his maſter either to have his work previouſly allotted to him, in order that he might make preparation againſt the time of the week-day meeting, or that he might be allowed when his apprenticeſhip expired, to pay for ſo much time as he ſhould have ſpent at meetings: and he grew and proſpered in the ſaving knowledge of the truth accordingly, and not long after his coming over to Ireland, a diſpenſation of the goſpel was committed unto him, whereof he became an eminent miniſter, freely devoting himſelf to ſpend and be ſpent for the promotion of piety in the earth, being diligent in the exerciſe of his gift both at home and abroad, having viſited friends in the ſervice of the goſpel in England, Scotland, Wales, Holland, and America.

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* See the Year 1721.

He adorned his miniſtry by a grave and ſolid behaviour; he was alſo a man of good underſtanding, zealous in Chriſtian diſcipline, and ſerviceable in viſiting the families of friends; a man of integrity and firmneſs, induſtrious in buſineſs, upright in his dealings, and careful in the religious education of his children; chearful and edifying in his converſation; compaſſionate and liberal to the afflicted; a nurſing father to young travellers in the way to Zion; yet not haſty to lay hands ſuddenly on ſuch as were more in ſhew than ſubſtance, being of a diſcerning ſpirit; and notwithſtanding theſe good qualifications, he was very humble-minded with reſpect to himſelf.

He continued lively in the exerciſe of his gift to the laſt, finiſhing his Chriſtian courſe in the ſeventieth year of his age, and about the fortieth of his miniſtry.

This year died at Cork, George Bewley, a faithful miniſter and elder, his conduct and converſation having been agreeable to his doctrine. He was careful to keep free from the incumbrances of this life, and zealous for the ſupport of good order and diſcipline in the church. A narrative of his life was publiſhed, by the approbation of the National meeting, in the year 1750.

A
SUMMARY VIEW
OF THE
SUFFERINGS
OF THIS
PEOPLE
IN IRELAND.

MANY and grievous were the ſufferings which this people underwent at the beginning, merely for being exerciſed in preſerving a conſcience void of offence towards God and man, in teſtifying againſt the corruptions, ſuperfluities, and exceſſes, vain pleaſures and paſtimes, ſuperſtitions, dead formality and hypocriſy, prevailing among profeſſed Chriſtians. On theſe accounts they became the objects of popular ſcorn and deriſion; and beſides perſonal abuſes, they frequently ſuffered ſevere fines and impriſonment. This will appear the leſs wonderful, when we call to mind and conſider the ſaying of the apoſtle, Gal. iv. 29. "He that is born after the fleſh, perſecuteth him that is born after the Spirit."

But there was one thing which rendered them in a peculiar manner the objects of the rage of a man-made miniſtry, viz. their conſcientious ſcruple of paying tithes in theſe goſpel-times, as being an antichriſtian impoſition. Hence was verified among theſe what was obſerved of the prophets that cauſed the people to err formerly, Micah iii. 5. "He that putteth not into their mouths, they even proclaim war againſt him." And accordingly the prieſts were commonly the inſtruments of ſtirring up the magiſtrates, and even the rabble againſt them; and on the above-named account, viz. their refuſing to pay tithes, they very frequently had their goods ſpoiled and taken away; ſometimes to three, ſix, ten, or twenty times the value, and were often impriſoned and kept priſoners ſeveral years, and ſometimes unto death; thus ſealing with their blood their teſtimony againſt the antichriſtian yoke of tithes, as having been commanded to be paid by the eleven tribes of Iſrael, to the tribe of Levi, both for their continual ſervice and attendance in the tabernacle of the congregation, and in lieu of their part or ſhare in the land of Canaan, which they were hereupon expreſsly deprived of (ſee Numb. xviii. 20, 23, 24.), and not affecting the Gentiles, of whoſe race we are, but made null by the coming and offering up of Chriſt Jeſus our Lord, on which conſideration the ſatisfying of this demand, in theſe goſpel times, hath been ever deemed, by this people, a virtual (or in effect) denying the efficacy of the coming and ſuffering of Chriſt Jeſus to aboliſh the ordinances commanded to the Jews for a time only, of which tithes was one, from whence the impoſition of them has been by them called an antichriſtian yoke of oppreſſion upon Chriſtians.

To enumerate all the inſtances that might be given of their ſufferings on this account, were to fill a large volume. A compendious view of their ſufferings in this kingdom, for not ſatisfying this and other eccleſiaſtical demands, ſuch as building and repairing the places called churches, burying and chriſtening (ſo called) their children, and churching their women, even when none of theſe offices had been done for them, was publiſhed in Dublin in the year 1731; where is alſo a narrative of their ſufferings for conſcience-ſake on ſeveral other accounts, whereof I ſhall here give a brief ſketch, as follows:

For not going to the church, ſo called, but meeting together purely to worſhip Almighty God, according to the dictates of their conſciences, they were cruelly uſed, indicted, greatly fined, had their goods ſpoiled, and were long impriſoned; and when there was a proſpect of their enlargement, becauſe they could not ſatisfy the unjuſt demand of fees, as having done no wrong (thus bravely, though paſſively, aſſerting their Chriſtian liberty), ſome of them were detained in priſon, and others ſtripped of their clothes and then turned out.

There was one occaſion more of their ſuffering, whereof we meet with frequent inſtances in the early days, which (though it may ſeem very ſtrange, and perhaps to ſome ſcarcely juſtifiable) appears however very reconcileable to the practice of Chriſt and his apoſtles, who frequently taught and preached not only in the temple and ſynagogues of the Jews, but in other places of public concourſe,* and to the liberty enjoyed in the primitive Chriſtian churches, where we read that not one man only, but "all might propheſy (i. e. in the ſenſe of the apoſtle, ſpeak to edification, exhortation, and comfort) that all might learn, and all might be comforted, and if any thing were revealed to one that ſat by, the firſt was to hold his peace.† What I mean is their practice of exhorting and warning the people to repentance and the fear of the Lord, ſometimes in the ſtreets ‡ and markets, and ſometimes in the publick places of worſhip, commonly after the prieſt had ended his ſervice; where alſo they ſometimes deſired the prieſts to prove their doctrine, and ſome even took the liberty of reproving the prieſts, when it appeared evident to them that they had preached things falſe and contrary to Scripture.*

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* This, however uncouth it may ſeem, through long deſuetude, to divers modern Chriſtians, might be further defended by the practice of the great Socrates, whoſe familiar cuſtom it was, publickly to preach to, or inſtruct the people in juſt, grave, and virtuous manners; and thus he did, frequently, at any time of the day, and in the very ſtreets, as occaſion ſerved, and as his good genius moved him; neither was he an hireling, for he did it gratis.——See Penn's 'No Croſs, No Crown.'

† 1 Cor. xiv. 3, 30, 31. ‡ See the above note.

On theſe accounts they ſuffered loſs of goods, fines, whippings, cruel beatings, and long impriſonment.

The ſame treatiſe from whence this extract is taken, gives many inſtances of great and grievous ſufferings they alſo underwent by ſpoiling of goods, fines, and impriſonment, for their not daring to break the command of Chriſt, "Swear not at all;" and ſome for not fighting.

Nor were their ſufferings inconſiderable merely on the account of their conſcientiouſly refuſing to take off their hats in honour to man (as deeming this to be a mark of reverence proper to divine worſhip, according to 1 Cor. xi.) as appears from the following inſtances in the ſame treatiſe.

A. D. 1661. William Edmundſon, Thomas Lunn, Richard Faile, William Parker, and Thomas Hutchinſon, were fined by judge Alexander, at the aſſizes at Cavan, ſeven pounds a man for not taking off their hats.

In the year 1655, Michael Richards, for wearing his hat on in the court of Cork, being ſent for thither as a witneſs about his maſter, who was then at the bar upon his trial, was by John Byſſe, then judge, fined twenty pounds. And for the ſame offence, at the aſſizes in New Roſs, was John Rodman, committed to gaol by judge Louder, kept a priſoner three months, and then baniſhed that country.

They alſo ſuffered greatly by ſpoiling of goods; and ſome inſtances occur in the above treatiſe, of excommunication and impriſonment on the account merely of their following their lawful vocations on the days called holy-days, as judging theſe obſervations entirely ſuperſtitious, introduced in the dark night of apoſtacy, and that they were called of God thus to bear an open, public teſtimony againſt them.

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* See the compendious View of extraordinary Sufferings of the People called Quakers in Ireland, page 106, 111, 112.

I ſhall here ſubjoin a ſhort extract from the treatiſe aforeſaid, exhibiting the ſum total of friends ſufferings, and numbers of priſoners under each reign from the beginning, and then conclude with the total annual ſufferings to the preſent time, with a few remarks.

		No. of Years they reigned.	Value taken.			Priſoners.
			£.	s.	d.	
Under the Reign of	The Protectors, (ſo called)	5	86	13	6	101
	K. Charles II.	36	3824	16	8½	780
	K. James II.	4	1583	14	3	12
	K. William & Q. Mary	13	13724	9	3½	33
	Q. Ann	12	16199	15	3½	13
	K. George I.	13	22513	14	10	27
		In all	57933	3	10½	966

The annual Sum total of friends Sufferings, chiefly for tithes, prieſts maintenance, and other eccleſiaſtical dues ſo called; and for repair of pariſh worſhip-houſes, from the year 1727 to 1751, incluſive.

K. GEORGE II. Year.	Sums. £	s.	d.	PRISONERS.
1727	1939	2	2	
1728	1777	2	0	
1729	1921	10	0	Three friends of Charlemont meeting, on account of tithes.
1730	1368	1	3	
1731	1589	19	9½	
1732	1591	6	3	
1733	1585	0	4	
1734	1531	7	4	James Simpſon, and Joſhua Deale, in Cavan gaol, through the ſeverity of Hugh Reilly, a popiſh tithe-taker under Witnel Sneyd, vicar-general of Kilmore and Adagh, and continued Priſoners above a year.
1735	1458	7	7	
1736	1485	18	0	
1737	1599	17	9	
1738	1486	13	7	
1739	1511	0	8*	
1740	1884	6	0	
1741	1738	15	7	
1742	1532	7	8	
1743	1460	9	6 ¶	Joſhua Thompſon of Carlow Monthly meeting, on account of tithes, who continued a priſoner for ſome time.
1744	1505	3	11½	
1745	1687	14	6	
1746	1687	14	6¾†	
1747	1450	9	3½‡	
1748	1605	11	1½	
1749	1564	11	11	
1750	1760	7	8	
1751	1743	19	0½	
Total....	40469	17	6¼	

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* In the year 1739, a certain grievous ſuffering befel ſome friends, on a particular occaſion, which was owing to the imprudence of ſome on the one hand, and the inveterate rage of a party on the other, newly awakened; of which it may not be improper to ſubjoin some account, viz.—On the 5th of the Ninth month, being the day uſually celebrated by the Proteſtants in commemoration of their deliverance from the Gun-powder Plot, certain Proteſtant journeymen and ſervants belonging to ſome friends living at Timahoe in the county of Kildare (where is a ſettlement of friends amidſt great numbers of Papiſts) did likewiſe make a fire there on an eminence on that day, which being ſuppoſed to have been done by friends, though unjuſtly (except ſome giddy young perſons who were not ſo clear of encou-

raging the thing as they ought to have been) ſuch methods of rejoicing having ever been inconſiſtent with the declared principles and practices of this people on all ſuch occaſions, the popiſh rabble took offence, aggravated the affair by miſrepreſentations and lies, and carried their reſentment to ſuch a degree of inſolence and barbarity, that they firſt burnt friends meeting-houſe there, and afterwards ſeveral of their outhouſes, from which proceedings, together with other inſults and menaces, there was great reaſon to apprehend that their fury, unleſs ſpeedily repreſſed, would have been extended to many other friends in diſtant places. Hereupon friends of Dublin made application to the government for protection, and perſonally to the Duke of Devonſhire, then lord-lieutenant, whoſe great tenderneſs towards friends on this occaſion, deſerves to be gratefully commemorated, in ſending down inſtantly upon their application, parties of ſoldiers to Timahoe, for the protection of friends there, in iſſuing a proclamation for apprehending the offenders, and ordering a commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer, to bring them to juſtice; which, although it did not ſucceed, through a defect in, and groſs prevarication among the evidences, was ſuch an inſtance of the countenance and regard of the government as was of great ſervice; and the damages were afterwards recovered upon the popiſh inhabitants, according to act of parliament.

¶ To the year 1742 add 18l. 1s. 9d. being the damage ſuſtained by ſeveral friends of Limerick, Waterford, and Clonmel, by a rude mob of ſoldiers and others, breaking their windows, &c. becauſe, for conſcience-ſake, they could not join with the multitude in illuminating their windows, and making bonfires, on the news of a late ſuppoſed victory at ſea.

‡ To the year 1746 add 27l. 4s. 4d. being the loſs ſuffered by friends of the City of Cork this year, by a rude aſſembly of ſoldiers and other rabble breaking their windows, becauſe they could not illuminate them on a night of rejoicing for the victory obtained by the king's forces over the rebels in Scotland, and this not through the leaſt diſloyalty or diſaffection to the government, they being ſenſible of the great favour of Providence in delivering them, in common with other Proteſtant diſſenters, from the late imminent danger, but purely for conſcience-ſake, as believing ſuch a way of rejoicing not to be conſiſtent with the gravity and reverence becoming a Chriſtian on ſuch occaſions, nor with that precept in holy Scripture, Pſalm ii. 11. "Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling."

On this occaſion Primate Hoadley, Robert Lord Newport, and Henry Boyle, Eſqrs. Lords Juſtices, were applied to by friends of Dublin in behalf of their friends of Cork, who wrote forthwith to the mayor of Cork, Walter Lavit, in order to diſcourage ſuch practices for the future.

† To the year 1747 add 10l. 9s. 11½d. being the damage again ſuſtained by friends of Cork this year, on a like occaſion as that mentioned laſt year.

A few Remarks, ariſing partly from the foregoing account, and partly from a peruſal and impartial conſideration of the records of the ſtate of the ſociety, from the year 1727 to the year 1748 incluſive, are obvious, viz.

1. That during the reign of our preſent gracious ſovereign George II. whilſt the great bleſſing of liberty of conſcience, and of preaching the goſpel freely, is

enjoyed, the teſtimony of truth gains eſteem in divers places, and the wrong apprehenſions of many concerning friends, are removed.

2. The chief ſufferings of friends are for tithes, prieſts maintenance, and other eccleſiaſtical demands, and during theſe twenty-one years, there have been but ſix priſoners on this account.

3. That ſometimes the prieſts take their tithes both in a cruel and in an illegal manner, which brings hardſhips on the poor, (which moſt frequently happened in the province of Ulſter) and the rather becauſe divers prieſts ſet their tithes to wicked and vexatious perſons.

4. It is not leſs worthy of obſervation, that in this calm ſummer-ſeaſon, when the ſevere penalties of fines and impriſonments formerly inflicted on friends, for not daring to forſake the aſſembling themſelves together for the worſhip of Almighty God, are entirely withdrawn, negligence and lukewarmneſs, with reſpect to that eſſential duty, hath crept in and prevailed among the deſcendants of this once perſecuted people; it being a common complaint during the above-mentioned period, that a conformity to the vain and corrupt faſhions of the world prevails among the youth, and a coolneſs of zeal in attending the meetings of worſhip and diſcipline among thoſe of riper years.

5. Though a faithful few be preſerved alive to mourn over the declining multitude, yet, as the negligence before-mentioned is undoubtedly an inlet to many evils, theſe ſometimes break forth openly, to the great obſtruction of the progreſs of truth, and ſtumbling-blocks are thrown in the way of the ſincere inquirer: nevertheleſs, whilſt a wholeſome diſcipline is continued to be exerciſed on offenders, the ſociety is no longer juſtly chargeable with the ſcandal hereby given.

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